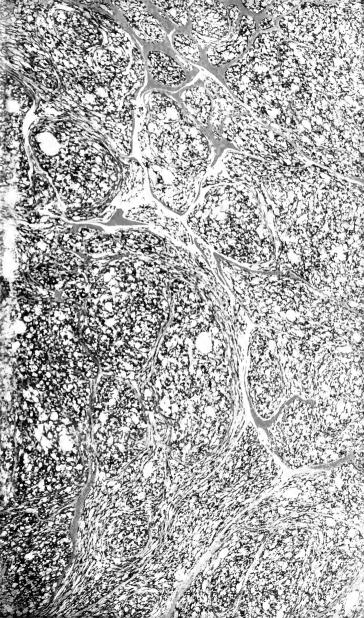




Thomas Solser Waterfields





FRANCIS BACON AT EIGHTEEN.

10/6



FRANCIS BACON,



Digitized by the Internet Archive in 2009 with funding from University of Toronto

ALCOHOLDS N

ESSAYS

MORAL, ECONOMICAL,

AND

POLITICAL.

7 M(D)

307 (1011 111

to and the same

ESSAYS.

MORAL : 1

2 / 261

ESSAYS

MORAL, ECONOMICAL,

AND

POLITICAL.

BY

FRANCIS BACON,

BARON OF VERULAM,

AND

VISCOUNT ST. ALBANS.

LONDON:

Printed by T. Bensley,

FOR J. EDWARDS, PALL MALL, AND T. PAYNE,
MEWS GATE.

1798.

A - 1

9.9.

PREFACE.

THE illustrious Author of these Essays is so generally known as a man and a writer, that any particular account of him on the present occasion would be superfluous. To dwell, indeed, on the incidents of my Lord Bacon's life, would be an unpleafant and mortifying task: for ever must it be deplored by the lover of literature and his species, that the possessor of this extraordinary intellect should have been exposed to the dangers of a fituation. to which his firmness was unequal; and, withdrawn from the retirement of his study, where he was the first of men, should have been thrown into the tumult of business, where he discovered himself to be among the last. The fuperiority, it is true, of his talents rendered him every where eminent; and when we fee him acting at court, in the fenate, at the bar,

or on the bench, we behold an engine of mighty force, sufficient, as it would appear, to move the world: but when we carry our research into his bosom, we find nothing there but the ebullition and froth of some common or corrupt passions; and we are struck with the contrast between the littleness within, and the exhibition of energy without. But peace be to the failings of this wonderful man! they who alone were affected by them, his contemporaries and himself, have long since passed to their account; and existing no more as the statesman or the judge, he survives to us only in his works as the father of experimental physics, and a great luminary of science.

In his literary character he must always be contemplated with astonishment; and we cannot sufficiently wonder at the riches or the powers of his mind; at that penetration which no depth could elude; that comprehension for which no object was too large; that vigour which no labour could exhaust; that memory which no pressure of acquisitions could subdue. By his two great works, "On "the Advancement of Learning," and "The New Organ of the Sciences," written amid

the diffraction of business and of cares, sufficient of themselves to have occupied the whole of any other mind, did this mighty genius sirst break the shackles of that scholastic philosophy which had long crushed the human intellect; and, diverting the attention from words to things, from theory to experiment, demonstrate the road to that height of science, on which the moderns are now seated, and which the ancients were unable to reach.

But these grand displays of his genius and knowledge are now chiefly regarded as they present to the curious an illustrious evidence of the powers of the human mind. Having awakened and directed the exertions of Europe, the usefulness of these writings has in a great degree been superseded by the labours of the subsequent adventurers in science; who, purfuing the track marked out for them by their great master, have found it opening into a region of clear and fleady light. Of the other works of this great man, which were objects of admiration to his own times, the following Effays are perhaps the only ones which retain much of their pristine popularity. His law treatifes have always been reftricted by

their subject within the line of a professional circle: of his state papers and speeches the power has expired with the interest of those events to which they were attached; and his history of Henry the seventh, blemished as it is with something more than those defects of style, which, from the example and patronage of a pedant king, then began to infect the purity of our composition, is in these days consulted only by the few.

But these Essays, written at a period of better taste, and on subjects of immediate importance to the conduct of common life, " fuch as come home to men's bufiness and "bofoms," are still read with pleasure, and continue to possess, in the present age, nearly as much estimation as they did in that which witneffed their first publication. From the circumstance of their having engaged his attention at different and remote intervals of his life, they appear to have shared a more than common portion of their great author's regard; and they are evidently composed in his happiest manner, and with the full ftretch of his powers. In them we are prefented with all the wifdom which the deepest erudition could recover from

the gulph of buried ages; and with all that also which the most fagacious and accurate obfervation could select from the spectacle of the passing scene: in them we behold imagination and knowledge equally successful in their exertions; this as the contributor of truths, and that as opening her affluent wardrobe for their dress; one like the earth throwing out of her bosom the organized forms of matter, and the other like the sun arraying them in an endless variety of hues.

Of the Essay, that most agreeable and perhaps most useful vehicle of instruction, my Lord Bacon must be considered, at least in our own country, as the inventor; and to the success of his attempt may be ascribed that numerous race of writers, to whose short and entertaining lessons the public mind may be regarded as principally indebted for its present cultivation and refinement.

Thus strongly recommended by their intrinsic worth, these Essays possess also an additional and accidental value from the circumstance of their constituting all which, in some sense, remains of their admirable author. His other works, as it has been already remarked,

are in fact extinct to the many, and now generally known only as a mighty name, and the writer of these shorter compositions, the great Lord Bacon may not improperly be considered as shrunk, like the ashes of an Alexander in a golden urn, within the limits of this little but sterling volume.

Lotter to community of the control o

ESSAYS OR COUNSELS,

CIVIL AND MORAL.

M F FRING, 2113

TO MR. ANTHONY BACON, His dear Brother.

Loving and beloved brother, I do now like fome that have an orchard ill neighboured, that gather their fruit before it is ripe, to prevent stealing. These fragments of my conceits were going to print: to labour the ftay of them had been troublesome, and subject to interpretation; to let them pass had been to adventure the wrong they might receive by untrue copies, or by fome garnishment which it might please any that should set them forth to bestow upon them; therefore I held it best discretion to publish them myself, as they passed long ago from my pen, without any further difgrace than the weakness of the author; and as I did ever hold, there might be as great a vanity in retiring and withdrawing men's conceits, (except they be of fome nature,) from the world, as in obtruding them: fo in these particulars I have played myself the inquifitor, and find nothing to my understanding in them contrary or infectious to the state of religion or manners, but rather, as I suppose, medicinable: only I disliked now to put them out, because they will be like the late new halfpence, which though the filver were good, yet the pieces were fmall; but fince they would not ftay with their mafter, but would needs travel abroad, I have preferred them to you that are next myfelf; dedicating them, fuch as they are, to our love, in the depth whereof, I affure you, I fometimes wish your infirmities translated upon myself, that her majesty might have the service of so active and able a mind; and I might be with excuse confined to these contemplations and studies, for which I am fittest: so commend I you to the preservation of the Divine Majesty.

Your entire loving brother,

FRAN. BACON.

From my chamber at Gray's Inn, this 30th of January 1597. 1613

To my loving Brother,

ISIR JOHN CONSTABLE, KT.

My last Essays I dedicated to my dear brother, Mr. Anthony Bacon, who is with God. Looking amongst my papers this vacation, I found others of the same nature; which if I myself shall not suffer to be lost, it seemeth the world will not, by the often printing of the former. Missing my brother, I found you next; in respect of bond both of near alliance, and of straight friendship and society, and particularly of communication in studies; wherein I must acknowledge myself beholding to you: for as my business found rest in my contemplations, so my contemplations ever found rest in your loving conference and judgment: so wishing you all good, I remain

Your loving brother and friend,

1612.

FRA. BACON.

author of the contract of the contract TOTTO THE THE PROPERTY WORLD

Right Honourable my very good Lord

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM,

His Grace Lord High Admiral of England.

EXCELLENT LORD.

Solomon fays, "A good name is as a precious ointment;" and I affure myself such will your Grace's name be with posterity: for your fortune and merit both have been eminent; and you have planted things that are like to last. I do now publish my Essays; which, of all my other works, have been most current: for that, as it feems, they come home to men's bufinefs and bosoms. I have enlarged them both in number and weight; fo that they are indeed a new work: I thought it therefore agreeable to my affection and obligation to your Grace, to prefix your name before them both in english and latin: for I do conceive, that the Latin volume of them, being in the universal language, may last as long as books last. My Inflauration I dedicated to the king; my history of Henry the seventh, which I have now translated into Latin, and my portions of Natural History, to the prince; and these I dedicate to your Grace, being of the best fruits that, by the good increase which God gives to my pen and labours, I could yield. God lead your Grace by the hand.

Your Grace's most obliged

And faithful servant,

-10t 100 -FR. ST. ALBAN. י ווי איווי, מתל I first made vm l'a v for that, stanting and the risk of the section ne mdeed oldesai Firee, -305 n. I odi tary In univertal s books laft. My Indoor, J. Propost to the king; my

Production of the control of the con

ESSAYS

CIVIL AND MORAL.

OF TRUTH.

What is truth? faid jefting Pilate, and would not stay for an answer. Certainly there be that delight in giddiness, and count it a bondage to fix a belief; affecting free-will in thinking, as well as in acting: and, though the sects of philosophers of that kind be gone, yet there remain certain discoursing wits which are of the same veins, though there be not so much blood in them as was in those of the ancients. But it is not only the difficulty and labour which men take in finding out of truth; nor again, that, when it is found, it imposeth upon men's thoughts, that doth bring lies in favour;

but a natural, though corrupt love of the lie itself. One of the later school of the Grecians examineth the matter, and is at a ftand to think what should be in it, that men should love lies, where neither they make for pleafure, as with poets; nor for advantage, as with the merchant; but for the lie's fake. But I cannot tell: this fame truth is a naked and open daylight, that doth not shew the masques, and mummeries, and triumphs of the world half fo stately and daintily as candlelights. Truth may perhaps come to the price of a pearl, that sheweth best by day; but it will not rife to the price of a diamond or carbuncle, that sheweth best in varied lights. A mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure. Doth any man doubt, that if there were taken out of men's minds vain opinions, flattering hopes, false valuations, imaginations as one would, and the like, but it would leave the minds of a number of men, poor shrunken things, full of melancholy and indisposition, and unpleasing to themselves? One of the fathers, in great feverity, called poefy, "vinum "dæmonum," because it filleth the imagination, and yet it is but with the shadow of a lie. But it is not the lie that passeth through the

mind, but the lie, that finketh in and fettleth in it, that doth the hurt, fuch as we spake of before. But howfoever thefe things are thus in men's depraved judgments and affections, yet truth, which only doth judge itself, teacheth that the inquiry of truth, which is the love-making, or wooing of it; the knowledge of truth, which is the presence of it; and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it, is the fovereign good of human nature. The first creature of God, in the works of the days, was the light of the fense; the last was the light of reason; and his sabbath work, ever fince, is the illumination of his Spirit. First he breathed light upon the face of the matter, or chaos; then he breathed light into the face of man; and still he breatheth and inspireth light into the face of his chosen. The poet that beautified the fect, that was otherwise inferior to the rest, saith yet excellently well. "It is a pleafure to fland upon the shore, and to "fee ships tost upon the fea: a pleasure to stand "in the window of a caftle, and to fee a battle, "and the adventures thereof below: but no "pleasure is comparable to the standing upon "the vantage ground of truth (a hill not to be "commanded, and where the air is always clear and ferene), and to fee the errors, and wan derings, and mists, and tempests, in the vale below:" fo always that this prospect be with pity, and not with swelling or pride. Certainly, it is heaven upon earth to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in providence, and turn upon the poles of truth.

To pass from theological and philosophical truth to the truth of civil business, it will be acknowledged, even by those that practise it not, that clear and round dealing is the honour of man's nature, and that mixture of falsehood is like allay in coin of gold and filver, which may make the metal work the better, but it embaseth it: for these winding and crooked courses are the goings of the serpent; which goeth bafely upon the belly, and not upon the feet. There is no vice that doth so cover a man with shame as to be found false and perfidious: and therefore Montaigne faith prettily, when he inquired the reason why the word of the lie should be such a disgrace, and fuch an odious charge, " If it be well weigh-"ed, to fay that a man lieth, is as much as "to fay that he is brave towards God, and a "coward towards men: for a lie faces God, and "fhrinks from man." Surely the wickedness of falsehood and breach of faith cannot possibly be so highly expressed as in that it shall be the last peal to call the judgments of God upon the generations of men: it being foretold, that when "Christ cometh," he shall not "find faith upon earth."

OF DEATH.

Men fear death as children fear to go in the dark; and as that natural fear in children is increased with tales, so is the other. Certainly, the contemplation of death, as the wages of fin and passage to another world, is holy and religious; but the fear of it, as a tribute due unto nature, is weak. Yet in religious meditations there is sometimes mixture of vanity and of superstition. You shall read in some of the friars books of mortification, that a man should think with himself what the pain is, if he have but his singer's end pressed, or tortured, and thereby imagine what the pains of death are when the whole body is corrupted

and diffolved; when many times death paffeth with less pain than the torture of a limb; for the most vital parts are not the quickest of fense: and by him that spake only as a philosopher and natural man, it was well faid, "Pompa mortis magis terret, quam mors ipfa." Groans, and convulsions, and a discoloured face, and friends weeping, and blacks, and obsequies, and the like shew death terrible. It is worthy the observing, that there is no paffion in the mind of man fo weak, but it mates and mafters the fear of death; and therefore death is no fuch terrible enemy when a man hath fo many attendants about him that can win the combat of him. Revenge triumphs over death; love flights it; honour aspireth to it; grief flieth to it; fear pre-occupieth it; nay, we read, after Otho the emperor had flain himself, pity (which is the tenderest of affections) provoked many to die out of mere compassion to their sovereign, and as the truest fort of followers. Nay, Seneca adds, niceness and fatiety; "Cogita quamdiu eadem feceris; "mori velle, non tantum fortis, aut mifer, fed "etiam fastidiosus potest." A man would die, though he were neither valiant nor miserable,

only upon a weariness to do the same thing so oft over and over. It is no less worthy to obferve how little alteration in good spirits the approaches of death make; for they appear to be the same men till the last instant. Augustus Cæfar died in a compliment: "Livia, conjugii " nostri memor, vive et vale:" Tiberius in dissimulation, as Tacitus faith of him, "Jam Ti-"berium vires et corpus, non dissimulatio, dese-"rebant:" Vespasian in a jest, sitting upon the ftool, "Ut puto Deus fio:" Galba with a fentence, "Feri, fi ex re fit populi Romani," holding forth his neck: Septimius Severus in dispatch, "Adeste, si quid mihi restat agendum," and the like. Certainly the Stoics bestowed too much cost upon death, and by their great preparations made it appear more fearful. Better, faith he, "qui finem vitæ extremum inter "munera ponat naturæ." It is as natural to die as to be born; and to a little infant, perhaps, the one is as painful as the other. He that dies in an earnest pursuit is like one that is wounded in hot blood; who, for the time, scarce feels the burt; and therefore a mind fixed and bent upon fomewhat that is good, doth avert the dolours of death: but, above all, believe it, the fweetest canticle is, "Nunc dimit-"tis," when a man hath obtained worthy ends and expectations. Death hath this also, that it openeth the gate to good fame, and extinguisheth envy, "Extinctus amabitur idem."

OF UNITY IN RELIGION.

RELIGION being the chief band of human fociety, it is a happy thing when itself is well contained within the true band of unity. The quarrels and divisions about religion were evils unknown to the heathen. The reason was, because the religion of the heathen confisted rather in rites and ceremonies, than in any conftant belief: for you may imagine what kind of faith theirs was, when the chief doctors and fathers of their church were the poets. But the true God hath this attribute, that he is a jealous God; and therefore his worship and religion will endure no mixture, nor partner. We shall therefore speak a few words concerning the unity of the church; what are the fruits thereof; what the bounds; and what the means.

The fruits of unity (next unto the wellpleafing of God, which is all in all) are two; the one towards those that are without the church; the other towards those that are within. For the former, it is certain, that herefies and schisms are of all others the greatest scandals; yea more than corruption of manners: for as in the natural body a wound or folution of continuity is worfe than a corrupt humour, fo in the spiritual: so that nothing doth so much keep men out of the church, and drive men out of the church, as breach of unity; and, therefore, whenfoever it cometh to that pass that one faith, "ecce in deserto," another faith, "ecce in penetralibus;" that is, when some men seek Christ in the conventicles of heretics, and others in an outward face of a church, that voice had need continually to found in men's ears, " nolite exire," "go not out." The doctor of the Gentiles (the propriety of whose vocation drew him to have a special care of those without) faith, " If an heathen "come in, and hear you fpeak with feveral "tongues, will he not fay that you are mad?" and, certainly, it is little better: when atheists and profane persons do hear of so many difcordant and contrary opinions in religion, it doth avert them from the church, and maketh them "to fit down in the chair of the scorn-"ers." It is but a light thing to be vouched in so serious a matter, but yet it expresses well the deformity. There is a master of scoffing that in his catalogue of books of a feigned library, sets down this title of a book, "The "morris-dance of heretics:" for, indeed, every seet of them hath a diverse posture or cringe by themselves, which cannot but move derision in worldlings and depraved politics, who are apt to contemn holy things.

within, it is peace, which containeth infinite bleffings: it establisheth faith; it kindleth charity: the outward peace of the church distilleth into peace of conscience, and it turneth the labours of writing and reading of controversies into treaties of mortification and devotion.

Concerning the bonds of unity, the true placing of them importeth exceedingly. There appear to be two extremes: for to certain zealots all speech of pacification is odious. "Is it peace, Jehu?" "What hast thou to do "with peace? turn thee behind me." Peace is

not the matter, but following and party. Contrariwife, certain Laodiceans and lukewarm perfons think they may accommodate points of religion by middle ways, and taking part of both, and witty reconcilements, as if they would make an arbitrement between God and man. Both these extremes are to be avoided; which will be done if the league of Christians, penned by our Saviour himfelf, were in the two crofs claufes thereof foundly and plainly expounded: "He that is not with us is against "us;" and again, "He that is not against us "is with us;" that is, if the points fundamental, and of fubstance in religion, were truly discerned and distinguished from points not merely of faith, but of opinion, order, or good intention. This is a thing may feem to many a matter trivial, and done already; but if it were done less partially, it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may give only this advice, according to my small model. Men ought to take heed of rending God's church by two kinds of controversies; the one is, when the matter of the point controverted is too small and light, not worth the heat and strife about

it, kindled only by contradiction; for, as it is noted by one of the fathers, Christ's coat indeed had no feam, but the church's vesture was of divers colours; whereupon he faith, "in veste varietas sit, scissura non sit," they be two things, unity and uniformity: the other is when the matter of the point controverted is great, but it is driven to an over-great subtilty and obscurity, fo that it becometh a thing rather ingenious than fubftantial. A man that is of judgment and understanding shall sometimes hear ignorant men differ, and know well within himfelf, that those which so differ mean one thing, and yet they themselves would never agree: and if it come so to pass in that distance of judgment which is between man and man, shall we not think that God above, that knows the heart, doth not differn that frail men, in some of their contradictions, intend the fame thing, and accepteth of both? The nature of fuch controversies is excellently expressed by St. Paul in the warning and precept that he giveth concerning the same, "devita " profanas vocum novitates, et oppofitiones " falsi nominis scientiæ." Men create oppofitions which are not, and put them into new terms fo fixed, as whereas the meaning ought to govern the term, the term in effect governeth the meaning. There be also two false peaces, or unities; the one, when the peace is grounded but upon an implicit ignorance; for all colours will agree in the dark: the other, when it is pieced up upon a direct admission of contraries in fundamental points: for truth and falsehood in such things are like the iron and clay in the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image; they may cleave, but they will not incorporate.

Concerning the means of procuring unity, men must beware, that, in the procuring or muniting of religious unity, they do not disfolve and deface the laws of charity and of human society. There be two swords amongst Christians, the spiritual and temporal; and both have their due office and place in the maintenance of religion: but we may not take up the third sword, which is Mahomet's sword, or like unto it; that is, to propagate religion by wars, or by sanguinary persecutions to force consciences; except it be in cases of overt scandal, blasphemy, or intermixture of practice against the state; much less to nourish seditions; to

authorize confpiracies and rebellions; to put the fword into the people's hands, and the like, tending to the subversion of all government; which is the ordinance of God: for this is but to dash the first table against the second; and so to consider men as Christians, as we forget that they are men. Lucretius the poet, when he beheld the act of Agamemnon, that could endure the facrisicing of his own daughter, exclaimed,

" Tantum relligio potuit fuadere malorum."

What would he have faid if he had known of the massacre in France, or the powder treafon of England? He would have been seven times more epicure and atheist than he was: for as the temporal sword is to be drawn with great circumspection in cases of religion, so it is a thing monstrous to put it into the hands of the common people; let that be left unto the anabaptists, and other suries. It was great blasphemy when the devil said, "I will assure that the like the Highest;" but it is greater blasphemy to personate God, and bring him in saying, "I will descend, and be like the "prince of darkness:" and what is it better

to make the cause of religion to descend to the cruel and execrable actions of murdering princes, butchery of people, and subversion of states and governments? Surely this is to bring down the Holy Ghoft, instead of the likeness of a dove, in the shape of a vulture or rayen; and to fet out of the bark of a Chriftian church a flag of a bark of pirates and assassins: therefore it is most necessary, that the church by doctrine and decree; princes by their fword; and all learnings, both christian and moral, as by their mercury rod do damn, and fend to hell for ever those facts and opinions tending to the support of the same, as hath been already in good part done. Surely in councils concerning religion, that counsel of the Apostle would be prefixed, "Ira homi-" nis non implet justitiam Dei:" and it was a notable observation of a wife father, and no less ingenuously confessed, that those, which held and perfuaded pressure of consciences, were commonly interested therein themselves for their own ends.

greater than the second of the second bring him to favore of darkasets " and what is it better

OF REVENGE.

REVENGE is a kind of wild justice, which the more man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out: for as for the first wrong, it doth but offend the law, but the revenge of that wrong putteth the law out of office. Certainly in taking revenge a man is but even with his enemy; but in passing it over he is fuperior; for it is a prince's part to pardon: and Solomon, I am fure, faith, "It is the "glory of a man to pass by an offence." That which is past is gone and irrevocable, and wife men have enough to do with things present and to come; therefore they do but trifle with themselves that labour in past matters. There is no man doth a wrong for the wrong's fake, but thereby to purchase himself profit, or pleafure, or honour, or the like; therefore why should I be angry with a man for loving himfelf better than me? And if any man should do wrong merely out of ill nature, why, yet it is but like the thorn or briar, which prick and fcratch because they can do no other. The most tolerable fort of revenge is for those

wrongs which there is no law to remedy: but, then, let a man take heed the revenge be fuch as there is no law to punish, else a man's enemy is still beforehand, and it is two for one. Some when they take revenge are defirous the party should know when it cometh: this is the more generous; for the delight feemeth to be not fo much in doing the hurt as in making the party repent: but base and crafty cowards are like the arrow that flieth in. the dark. Coinus, duke of Florence, had a desperate saying against perfidious or neglecting friends, as if those wrongs were unpardonable. "You shall read," faith he, "that we are "commanded to forgive our enemies, but you " never read that we are commanded to forgive "our friends." But yet the spirit of Job was in a better tune: "Shall we," faith he, "take good at "God's hands, and not be content to take evil "also?" and so of friends in a proportion. This is certain, that a man that studieth revenge keeps his own wounds green, which otherwife would heal and do well. Public revenges are for the most part fortunate; as that for the death of Cæsar; for the death of Pertinax; for the death of Henry the third of France;

and many more: but in private revenges it is not fo; nay rather, vindicative persons live the life of witches; who, as they are mischievous, fo end they unfortunate.

OF ADVERSITY.

Ir was an high speech of Seneca, (after the manner of the Stoics), that the good things which belong to prosperity are to be wished, but the good things that belong to adverfity are to be admired: "Bona rerum fecundarum " optabilia, adversarum mirabilia." Certainly if miracles be the command over nature, they appear most in adversity. It is yet a higher speech of his than the other, (much too high for a heathen), "It is true greatness to have in "one the frailty of a man, and the fecurity of a "God:" "Vere magnum habere fragilitatem "hominis, fecuritatem Dei." This would have done better in poefy, where transcendencies are more allowed; and the poets, indeed, have been busy with it: for it is in effect the thing which is figured in that strange fiction of the ancient poets, which feemeth not to be with-

out mystery, nay, and to have some approach to the state of a Christian, "that Hercules, "when he went to unbind Prometheus, (by "whom human nature is represented), failed "the length of the great ocean in an earthen " pot or pitcher, lively describing Christian re-" folution, that faileth in the frail bark of the " flesh through the waves of the world." But to speak in a mean, the virtue of prosperity is temperance; the virtue of advertity is fortitude, which in morals is the more heroical virtue. Prosperity is the bleffing of the Old Testament; adversity is the blessing of the New, which carrieth the greater benediction and the clearer revelation of God's favour. Yet even in the Old Testament, if you litten to David's harp, you shall hear as many herselike airs as carols; and the pencil of the Holy Ghoft hath laboured more in describing the afflictions of Job than the felicities of Solomon. Prosperity is not without many fears and distastes; and adversity is not without comforts and hopes. We see in needleworks and embroideries it is more pleasing to have a lively work upon a fad and folemn ground, than to have a dark and melancholy work upon

a lightfome ground: judge therefore of the pleasure of the heart by the pleasure of the eye. Certainly virtue is like precious odours, most fragrant when they are incensed or crushed; for prosperity doth best discover vice, but adversity doth best discover virtue.

OF SIMULATION AND DISSIMU-LATION.

DISSIMULATION is but a faint kind of policy or wisdom; for it asketh a strong wit and a strong heart to know when to tell truth, and to do it: therefore it is the weaker sort of politicians that are the great dissemblers.

Tacitus faith, "Livia forted well with the "arts of her hutband, and diffimulation of her "fon; attributing arts or policy to Augustus, "and diffimulation to Tiberius:" and again, when Mucianus encourageth Vespasian to take arms against Vitellius, he saith, "We rise not "against the piercing judgment of Augustus, "nor the extreme caution or closeness of Ti-"berius:" these properties of arts or policy,

and diffimulation or closeness are indeed habits and faculties feveral, and to be diffinguished; for if a man have that penetration of judgment as he can difcern what things are to be laid open, and what to be fecreted, and what to be thewed at half lights, and to whom and when, (which indeed are arts of state, and arts of life, as Tacitus well calleth them), to him a habit of diffigulation is a hinderance and a poorness. But if a man cannot obtain to that judgment, then it is left to him generally to be close and a dissembler; for where a man cannot choose or vary in particulars, there it is good to take the fafest and wariest way in general, like the going foftly by one that cannot well fee. Certainly the ablest men that ever were have had all an openness and frankness of dealing, and a name of certainty and veracity: but then they were like hories well managed, for they could tell paffing well when to stop or turn; and at such times when they thought the case indeed required diffimulation, if then they used it, it came to pass, that the former opinion, spread abroad, of their good faith and clearness of dealing made them almost invisible.

There be three degrees of this hiding and veiling of a man's felf; the first, closeness, reservation, and secrecy, when a man leaveth himself without observation, or without hold to be taken, what he is; the second, dissimulation in the negative, when a man lets fall signs and arguments, that he is not that he is; and the third, simulation in the affirmative, when a man industriously and expressly seigns and pretends to be that he is not.

For the first of these, secrecy, it is indeed the virtue of a confessor; and assuredly the fecret man heareth many confessions, for who will open himself to a blab or a babbler? But if a man be thought fecret, it inviteth discovery, as the more close air fucketh in the more open: and as in confession the revealing is not for worldly use, but for the ease of a man's heart, fo fecret men come to the knowledge of many things in that kind; while men rather discharge their minds than impart their minds. In few words, mysteries are due to secrecy. Befides (to fay truth)' nakedness is uncomely, as well in mind as in body; and it addeth no fmall reverence to men's manners and actions if they be not altogether open. As for talkers

and futile persons, they are commonly vain and credulous withal: for he that talketh what he knoweth, will also talk what he knoweth not; therefore set it down, that an habit of secrecy is both politic and moral: and in this part it is good, that a man's face give his tongue leave to speak; for the discovery of a man's self by the tracts of his countenance is a great weakness and betraying, by how much it is many times more marked and believed than a man's words.

For the fecond, which is diffimulation, it followeth many times upon fecrecy by a necessity; fo that he that will be fecret must be a diffembler in some degree: for men are too cunning to suffer a man to keep an indifferent carriage between both, and to be secret without swaying the balance on either side. They will so beset a man with questions and draw him on, and pick it out of him, that without an absurd silence he must shew an inclination one way; or if he do not, they will gather as much by his silence as by his speech. As for equivocations or oraculous speeches, they cannot hold out long. So that no man can be secret, except he give himself a little scope of

diffimulation, which is as it were but the skirts or train of secrecy.

But for the third degree, which is fimulation and false profession, that I hold more culpable and less politic, except it be in great and rare matters: and therefore a general custom of simulation, (which is this last degree), is a vice rising either of a natural salseness or fearfulness, or of a mind that hath some main saults; which, because a man must needs disguise, it maketh him practise simulation in other things, less hand should be out of use.

The great advantages of fimulation and diffimulation are three: first, to lay asseep opposition, and to surprise; for where a man's intentions are published, it is an alarm to call up all that are against them: the second is to reserve to a man's self a fair retreat; for if a man engage himself by a manifest declaration, he must go through, or take a fall: the third is the better to discover the mind of another; for to him that opens himself men will hardly shew themselves adverse; but will (fair) let him go on, and turn their freedom of speech to freedom of thought; and therefore it is a

good fhrewd proverb of the Spaniard, "Tell a "lie and find a troth;" as if there were no way of discovery but by simulation. There be also three disadvantages to set it even; the first, that fimulation and distimulation commonly carry with them a shew of fearfulness, which, in any bufiness, doth spoil the feathers of round flying up to the mark; the fecond, that it puzzleth and perplexeth the conceits of many that perhaps would otherwise co-operate with him, and makes a man walk almost alone to his own ends; the third and greatest is, that it depriveth a man of one of the most principal instruments for action, which is trust and belief. The best composition and temperature is, to have openness in fame and opinion; secrecy in habit; dissimulation in seasonable use; and a power to feign, if there be no remedy.

OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN.

THE joys of parents are fecret, and so are their griefs and fears; they cannot utter the one, nor they will not utter the other. Children sweeten labours, but they make misfortunes more bit-

ter: they increase the cares of life, but they mitigate the remembrance of death. The perpetuity by generation is common to beasts; but memory, merit, and noble works are proper to men: and surely a man shall see the noblest works and soundations have proceeded from childless men, which have sought to express the images of their minds where those of their bodies have failed; so the care of posterity is most in them that have no posterity. They that are the first raisers of their houses are most indulgent towards their children; beholding them as the continuance, not only of their kind but, of their work; and so both children and creatures.

The difference in affection of parents towards their feveral children is many times unequal, and fometimes unworthy, especially in the mother; as Solomon saith, "A wise "fon rejoiceth the father, but an ungracious "fon shames the mother." A man shall see, where there is a house full of children, one or two of the eldest respected, and the youngest made wantons; but in the midst some that are as it were forgotten, who many times, nevertheless, prove the best. The ill liberality

of parents in allowance towards their children is an harmful error; makes them base; acquaints them with shifts; makes them fort with mean company; and makes them furfeit more when they come to plenty: and therefore the proof is best when men keep their authority towards their children, but not their purse. Men have a foolish manner, (both parents, and fchoolmasters, and servants), in creating and breeding an emulation between brothers during childhood, which many times forteth to difcord when they are men, and disturbeth families. The Italians make little difference between children and nephews, or near kinsfolks; but so they be of the lump they care not, though they pass not through their own body: and, to fay truth, in nature it is much a like matter; infomuch that we fee a nephew fometimes refembleth an uncle or a kinfman more than his own parents, as the blood happens. Let parents choose betimes the vocations and courfes they mean their children should take, for then they are most flexible; and let them not too much apply themselves to the disposition of their children, as thinking they will take best to that which they have most mind to. It is true, that if the affection or aptness of the children be extraordinary, then it is good not to cross it; but generally the precept is good, "optimum elige, suave et facile illud faciet confuetudo." Younger brothers are commonly fortunate, but seldom or never where the elder are disinherited.

OF MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE.

HE that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune; for they are impediments to great enterprizes, either of virtue or mischief. Certainly the best works, and of greatest merit for the public have proceeded from the unmarried or childless men; which, both in affection and means, have married and endowed the public. Yet it were great reason that those that have children should have greatest care of suture times, unto which they know they must transmit their dearest pledges. Some there are, who though they lead a single

life, yet their thoughts do end with themselves, and account future times impertinences; nay, there are fome other that account wife and children but as bills of charges; nay more, there are some foolish rich covetous men that take a pride in having no children, because they may be thought fo much the richer; for, perhaps, they have heard fome talk, "Such an "one is a great rich man," and another except to it, "Yea, but he hath a great charge of chil-"dren," as if it were an abatement to his riches: but the most ordinary cause of a single life is liberty, especially in certain self-pleasing and humorous minds, which are so sensible of every restraint as they will go near to think their girdles and garters to be bonds and shackles. Unmarried men are best friends, best masters, best servants; but not always best subjects, for they are light to run away; and almost all fugitives are of that condition. A fingle life doth well with churchmen, for charity will hardly water the ground where it must first fill a pool. It is indifferent for judges and magistrates; for if they be facile and corrupt, you shall have a servant five times worse than a wife. For foldiers, I find the generals com-

monly in their hortatives put men in mind of their wives and children; and I think the defpifing of marriage among the Turks maketh the vulgar foldier more base. Certainly wife and children are a kind of discipline of humanity; and fingle men, though they be many times more charitable because their means are less exhaust, yet, on the other side, they are more cruel and hardhearted, (good to make fevere inquifitors), because their tenderness is not fo oft called upon. Grave natures, led by custom, and therefore constant, are commonly loving husbands, as was faid of Ulysses, "vetu-" lam fuam prætulit immortalitati." Chafte women are often proud and froward, as prefuming upon the merit of their chaftity. It is one of the best bonds, both of chastity and obedience, in the wife, if she think her husband wife, which she will never do if she find him jealous. Wives are young men's miftresses; companions for middle age, and old men's nurses; so as a man may have a quarrel to marry when he will: but yet he was reputed one of the wife men that made answer to the question when a man should marry, "A "young man not yet, an elder man not at all."

It is often feen that bad hufbands have very good wives; whether it be that it raifeth the price of their hufbands kindnefs when it comes, or that the wives take a pride in their patience; but this never fails if the bad hufbands were of their own choofing, against their friends consent, for then they will be sure to make good their own folly.

OF ENVY.

THERE be none of the affections which have been noted to fascinate or bewitch, but love and envy: they both have vehement wishes; they frame themselves readily into imaginations and suggestions; and they come easily into the eye, especially upon the presence of the objects, which are the points that conduce to fascination, if any such thing there be. We see, likewise, the scripture calleth envy an evil eye; and the astrologers call the evil influences of the stars evil aspects; so that still there seemeth to be acknowledged in the act of envy an ejaculation or irradiation of the eye: nay, some have been so curious as to

note, that the times, when the stroke or percussion of an envious eye doth most hurt, are when the party envied is beheld in glory or triumph; for that sets an edge upon envy: and besides, at such times the spirits of the person envied do come forth most into the outward parts, and so meet the blow.

But leaving these curiosities, (though not unworthy to be thought on in fit place), we will handle what persons are apt to envy others; what persons are most subject to be envied themselves; and what is the difference between public and private envy.

A man that hath no virtue in himself ever envieth virtue in others: for men's minds will either feed upon their own good, or upon others evil; and who wanteth the one will prey upon the other; and whoso is out of hope to attain to another's virtue, will seek to come at even hand by depressing another's fortune.

A man that is bufy and inquisitive is commonly envious; for to know much of other men's matters cannot be, because all that ado may concern his own estate; therefore it must needs be that he taketh a kind of play-pleasure

in looking upon the fortunes of others; neither can be that mindeth but his own business find much matter for envy; for envy is a gadding passion, and walketh the streets, and doth not keep home: "Non est curiosus, quin idem sit "malevolus."

Men of noble birth are noted to be envious towards new men when they rife; for the diftance is altered, and it is like a deceit of the eye, that when others come on they think themselves go back.

Deformed perfons and eunuchs, and old men and baftards are envious; for he that cannot possibly mend his own case will do what he can to impair another's; except these defects light upon a very brave and heroical nature which thinketh to make his natural wants part of his honour: in that it should be said, "That "an eunuch or a lame man did such great "matters;" affecting the honour of a miracle, as it was in Narses the eunuch, and Agesilaus and Tamberlane, that were lame men.

The same is the case of men that rise after calamities and missortunes; for they are as men sallen out with the times, and think other men's harms a redemption of their own sufferings.

They that defire to excel in too many matters, out of levity and vain glory, are ever envious, for they cannot want work; it being impossible, but many, in some one of those things, should surpass them; which was the character of Adrian the emperor, that mortally envied poets, and painters, and artificers in works wherein he had a vein to excel.

Laftly, near kinsfolks and fellows in office, and those that have been bred together are more apt to envy their equals when they are raised; for it doth upbraid unto them their own fortunes, and pointeth at them, and cometh oftener into their remembrance, and incurreth likewise more into the note of others; and envy ever redoubleth from speech and fame. Cain's envy was the more vile and malignant towards his brother Abel, because, when his facrifice was better accepted, there was no body to look on. Thus much for those that are apt to envy.

Concerning those that are more or less subject to envy. First, persons of eminent virtue when they are advanced are less envied; for their fortune seemeth but due unto them; and no man envieth the payment of a debt,

but rewards and liberality rather. Again, envy is ever joined with the comparing of a man's felf; and where there is no comparison, no envy; and therefore kings are not envied but by kings. Nevertheless it is to be noted, that unworthy persons are most envied at their first coming in, and afterwards overcome it better; whereas contrariwise, persons of worth and merit are most envied when their fortune continueth long; for by that time, though their virtue be the same, yet it hath not the same lustre, for fresh men grow up to darken it.

Perfons of noble blood are less envied in their rifing; for it seemeth but right done to their birth: besides, there seemeth not much added to their fortune; and envy is as the sunbeams, that beat hotter upon a bank or steep rising ground, than upon a flat: and, for the same reason, those that are advanced by degrees are less envied than those that are advanced suddenly, and "per saltum."

Those that have joined with their honour great travels, cares, or perils are less subject to envy; for men think that they earn their honours hardly, and pity them sometimes; and pity ever healeth envy: wherefore you shall observe, that the more deep and sober fort of politic persons in their greatness are ever bemoaning themselves what a life they lead, chanting a "quanta patimur;" not that they seel it so, but only to abate the edge of envy: but this is to be understood of business that is laid upon men, and not such as they call unto themselves; for nothing increaseth envy more than an unnecessary and ambitious ingrossing of business; and nothing doth extinguish envy more than for a great person to preserve all other inserior offices in their full rights and pre-eminences of their places; for by that means there be so many screens between him and envy.

Above all, those are most subject to envy which carry the greatness of their fortunes in an insolent and proud manner; being never well but while they are shewing how great they are, either by outward pomp, or by triumphing over all opposition or competition: whereas wise men will rather do facrisce to envy, in suffering themselves sometimes of purpose to be crossed and overborn in things that do not much concern them. Notwithstanding so much is true, that the carriage of

greatness in a plain and open manner, (fo it be without arrogancy and vain glory,) doth draw less envy than if it be in a more crafty and cunning fashion; for in that course a man doth but disavow fortune, and seemeth to be conscious of his own want in worth, and doth but teach others to envy him.

Laftly, to conclude this part, as we faid in the beginning that the act of envy had fomewhat in it of witchcraft, to there is no other cure of envy but the cure of witchcraft; and that is, to remove the lot, (as they call it), and to lay it upon another; for which purpofe, the wifer fort of great perfons bring in ever upon the ftage fomebody upon whom to derive the envy that would come upon themselves; fometimes upon ministers and servants; sometimes upon colleagues and associates, and the like; and for that turn there are never wanting some persons of violent and undertaking natures, who, so they may have power and business, will take it at any cost.

Now to fpeak of public envy: there is yet fome good in public envy, whereas in private there is none; for public envy is as an oftracifm, that eclipfeth men when they grow too great; and therefore it is a bridle also to great ones to keep them within bounds.

This envy, being in the Latin word "in"vidia," goeth in the modern languages by
the name of discontentment; of which we
shall speak in handling sedition. It is a disease in a state like to insection: for as insection spreadeth upon that which is sound and
tainteth it; so when envy is gotten once into
a state it traduceth even the best actions thereof, and turneth them into an ill odour; and
therefore there is little won by intermingling
of plausible actions: for that doth argue but a
weakness and fear of envy, which hurteth so
much the more, as it is likewise usual in insections, which if you fear them you call them
upon you.

This public envy feemeth to beat chiefly upon principal officers or ministers, rather than upon kings and estates themselves. But this is a sure rule, that if the envy upon the minister be great when the cause of it in him is small; or if the envy be general in a manner upon all the ministers of an estate, then the envy (though hidden) is truly upon the state itself. And so much of public envy or dis-

contentment, and the difference thereof from private envy, which was handled in the first place.

We will add this in general touching the affection of envy, that of all other affections it is the most importune and continual; for of other affections there is occasion given but now and then; and therefore it was well faid, "In-"vidia festos dies non agit:" for it is ever working upon fome or other. And it is also noted, that love and envy do make a man pine, which other affections do not, because they are not fo continual. It is also the vilest affection, and the most depraved; for which cause it is the proper attribute of the devil, who is called, "The envious man, that foweth tares amongst "the wheat by night;" as it always cometh to pass that envy worketh subtilly, and in the dark, and to the prejudice of good things, fuch as is the wheat.

OF LOVE.

THE stage is more beholding to love than the life of man; for as to the stage, love is even matter of comedies, and now and then of tragedies; but in life it doth much mischief; fometimes like a firen, fometimes like a fury. You may observe, that amongst all the great and worthy persons, (whereof the memory remaineth, either ancient or recent,) there is not one that hath been transported to the mad degree of love; which shews that great spirits and great business do keep out this weak pasfion. You must except, nevertheless, Marcus Antonius, the half partner of the empire of Rome, and Appius Claudius, the decemvir and lawgiver; whereof the former was indeed a voluptuous man, and inordinate; but the latter was an auftere and wife man: and therefore it feems, (though rarely,) that love can find entrance, not only into an open heart, but also into a heart well fortified, if watch be not well kept. It is a poor faying of Epicurus, "Satis magnum alter alteri theatrum "fumus;" as if man, made for the contem-

plation of heaven and all noble objects, should do nothing but kneel before a little idol, and make himself subject, though not of the mouth, (as beafts are), yet of the eye, which was given him for higher purpofes. It is a strange thing to note the excess of this passion, and how it braves the nature and value of things by this, that the speaking in a perpetual hyperbole is comely in nothing but in love: neither is it merely in the phrase; for whereas is hath been well faid, "That the arch flat-" terer, with whom all the petty flatterers have "intelligence, is a man's felf;" certainly the lover is more; for there was never proud man thought fo abfurdly well of himself as the lover doth of the person loved; and therefore it was well faid, "That it is impossible to love. " and to be wife." Neither doth this weakness. appear to others only and not to the party loved, but to the loved most of all, except the love be reciprocal; for it is a true rule, that love is ever rewarded either with the reciprocal, or with an inward and fecret contempt, by how much the more men ought to beware of this passion, which loseth not only other things, but itself. As for the other losses, the

poet's relation doth well figure them; "That "he that preferred Helena quitted the gifts " of Juno and Pallas;" for whofoever efteemeth too much of amorous affection, quitteth both riches and wisdom. This passion hath its floods in the very times of weakness, which are, great prosperity, and great adversity, though this latter hath been less observed; both which times kindle love and make it more fervent, and therefore shew it to be the child of folly. They do best, who, if they cannot but admit love, yet make it keep quarter, and fever it wholly from their ferious affairs and actions of life; for if it check once with bufiness, it troubleth men's fortunes. and maketh men that they can no ways be true to their own ends. I know not how, but martial men are given to love: I think it is, but as they are given to wine; for perils commonly ask to be paid in pleasures. There is in man's nature a fecret inclination and motion towards love of others, which if it be not spent upon some one or a few, doth naturally spread itself towards many, and maketh men become humane and charitable, as it is feen fometime in friars. Nuptial love maketh mankind; friendly love perfecteth it; but wanton love corrupteth and embaleth it.

OF GREAT PLACE.

MEN in great place are thrice fervants; fervants of the fovereign or state, servants of fame, and fervants of bufiness; so as they have no freedom, neither in their persons, nor in their actions, nor in their times. It is a ftrange defire to feek power and to lofe liberty; or to feek power over others, and to lose power over a man's felf. The rifing unto place is laborious, and by pains men come to greater pains; and it is fometimes base, and by indignities men come to dignities. The standing is flippery, and the regress is either a downfal, or at least an eclipse, which is a melancholy thing: "Cum non fis qui fueris, "non esse cur velis vivere?" Nay, retire men cannot when they would, neither will they when it were reason; but are impatient of privateness even in age and fickness, which require the shadow; like old townsmen, that will be still fitting at their street door, though

thereby they offer age to fcorn. Certainly great persons had need to borrow other men's opinions to think themselves happy; for if they judge by their own feeling, they cannot find it: but if they think with themselves what other men think of them, and that other men would fain be as they are, then they are happy as it were by report, when, perhaps, they find the contrary within: for they are the first that find their own griefs, though they be the last that find their own faults. Certainly, men in great fortunes are strangers to themselves, and while they are in the puzzle of business they have no time to tend their health either of body or mind: "Illi mors "gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, "ignotus moritur fibi." In place there is license to do good and evil: whereof the latter is a curfe: for in evil the best condition is not to will; the second not to can. But power to do good is the true and lawful end of aspiring; for good thoughts, (though God accept them), yet towards men are little better than good dreams, except they be put in act; and that cannot be without power and place, as the vantage and commanding ground. Merit

and good works is the end of man's motion; and conscience of the same is the accomplishment of man's rest: for if a man can be partaker of God's theatre, he shall likewise be partaker of God's rest: "Et conversus Deus, " ut aspiceret opera, quæ secerunt manus suæ, "vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis;" and then the fabbath. In the discharge of thy -place fet before thee the best examples; for imitation is a globe of precepts; and after a time fet before thee thine own example; and examine thyfelf strictly whether thou didst not best at first. Neglect not also the examples of those that have carried themselves ill in the fame place; not to fet off thyfelf by taxing their memory, but to direct thyfelf what to avoid. Reform, therefore, without bravery or fcandal of former times and persons; but yet fet it down to thyfelf, as well to create good. precedents as to follow them. Reduce things to the first institution, and observe wherein and how they have degenerated: but yet ask counsel of both times; of the ancient time what is best; and of the latter time what is fittest. Seek to make thy course regular, that men may know beforehand what they may

expect: but be not too positive and peremptory; and express thyself well when thou digreffest from thy rule. Preferve the right of thy place, but flir not questions of jurisdiction: and rather affume thy right in filence, and " de facto," than voice it with claims and challenges. Preferve likewife the rights of inferior places; and think it more honour to direct in chief, than to be bufy in all. Embrace and invite helps and advices touching the execution of thy place; and do not drive away fuch as bring thee information as medlers, but accept of them in good part. The vices of authority are chiefly four; delays, corruption, roughness, and facility. For delays give easy access; keep times appointed; go through with that which is in hand, and interlace not business but of necessity. For corruption, do not only bind thine own hands. or thy fervants hands from taking, but bind. the hands of fuitors also from offering; for integrity used doth the one; but integrity professed, and with a manifest detestation of bribery, doth the other; and avoid not only the fault, but the suspicion. Whosoever is found variable, and changeth manifeftly with-

out manifest cause giveth suspicion of corruption: therefore, always, when thou changest thine opinion or course, profess it plainly, and declare it, together with the reasons that move thee to change, and do not think to fleal it. A fervant or a favourite, if he be inward, and no other apparent cause of esteem, is commonly thought but a by-way to close corruption. For roughness, it is a needless cause of discontent; severity breedeth fear, but roughness breedeth hate. Even reproofs from authority ought to be grave, and not taunting. As for facility, it is worse than bribery; for bribes come but now and then; but if importunity or idle respects lead a man, he shall never be without; as Solomon faith, "To " respect persons it is not good, for such a man " will transgress for a piece of bread." It is most true that was anciently spoken, "A place "fheweth the man; and it sheweth some to "the better, and fome to the worfe:" "omnium "confensu, capax imperii, nisi imperasset," faith Tacitus of Galba; but of Vespasian he faith, "folus imperantium, Vespasianus mu-"tatus in melius;" though the one was meant of sufficiency, the other of manners and affec-

tion. It is an affured fign of a worthy and generous fpirit, whom honour amends; for honour is, or should be the place of virtue; and as in nature things move violently to their place, and calmly in their place, fo virtue in ambition is violent, in authority fettled and calm. All rifing to great place is by a winding. flair; and if there be factions, it is good to fide a man's felf whilft he is in the rifing, and to balance himself when he is placed. Use the memory of thy predecessor fairly and tenderly: for if thou dost not, it is a debt will fure be paid when thou art gone. If thou have colleagues, respect them; and rather call them when they look not for it, than exclude them when they have reason to look to be called. Be not too fenfible or too remem? bering of thy place in conversation and private answers to suitors; but let it rather be faid, "When he fits in place he is another " man.".. subject to alter

boldness: what remains the property and balench, far inferior trongers and vertheless, it doth fastones are all the and one for those that are either transmitted and burners.

OF BOLDNESS.

It is a trivial grammar school text, but yet worthy a wife man's confideration. Question was asked of Demosthenes, what was the chief part of an orator? he answered, action: what next? action: what next again? action. He faid it that knew it best, and had by nature himself no advantage in that he commended. A strange thing, that that part of an orator which is but fuperficial, and rather the virtue of a player, should be placed so high above those other noble parts of invention, elocution, and the rest; nay almost alone, as if it were all in all. But the reason is plain. There is in human nature generally more of the fool than of the wife; and therefore those faculties by which the foolish part of men's minds is taken, are most potent. Wonderful like is the case of boldness in civil business; what first? boldness: what second and third? boldness. And yet boldness is a child of ignorance and baseness, far inferior to other parts: but, nevertheless, it doth fascinate, and bind hand and foot those that are either shallow in judgment

or weak in courage, which are the greatest part; yea, and prevaileth with wife men at weak times: therefore we fee it hath done wonders in popular states, but with senates and princes less; and more ever upon the first entrance of bold persons into action, than soon after; for boldness is an ill keeper of promise. Surely, as there are mountebanks for the natural body, fo are there mountebanks for the politic body; men that undertake great cures, and perhaps have been lucky in two or three experiments, but want the grounds of science, and therefore cannot hold out: nay, you shall fee a bold fellow many times do Mahomet's miracle. Mahomet made the people believe that he would call an hill to him, and from the top of it offer up his prayers for the obfervers of his law. The people affembled: Mahomet called the hill to come to him again and again; and when the hill flood ftill he was never a whit abashed, but said, "If the "hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet "will go to the hill." So these men, when they have promised great matters and failed most shamefully, yet, (if they have the perfection of boldness,) they will but slight it

over, and make a turn, and no more ado. Certainly to men of great judgment bold perfons are fport to behold; nay, and to the vulgar also boldness hath somewhat of the ridiculous: for if absurdity be the subject of laughter, doubt you not but great boldness is feldom without fome abfurdity; especially it is a fport to fee when a bold fellow is out of countenance, for that puts his face into a most shrunken and wooden posture, as needs it must: for in bashfulness the spirits do a little go and come; but with bold men, upon like occasion, they stand at a stay; like a stale at chefs, where it is no mate, but yet the game cannot stir: but this last were fitter for a fatire, than for a serious observation. This is well to be weighed, that boldness is ever blind; for it feeth not dangers and inconveniences: therefore it is ill in counsel, good in execution; fo that the right use of bold persons is, that they never command in chief, but be feconds, and under the direction of others: for in counsel it is good to see dangers, and in execution not to fee them, except they be very great. thenun . The tack will but the he

OF GOODNESS AND GOODNESS OF NATURE.

I TAKE goodness in this sense, the affecting of the weal of men, which is that the Grecians call Philanthropia; and the word humanity (as it is used) is a little too light to express it. Goodness I call the habit, and goodness of nature the inclination. This, of all virtues and dignities of the mind, is the greatest, being the character of the Deity; and without it man is a bufy, mischievous, wretched thing, no better than a kind of vermin. Goodness answers to the theological virtue charity, and admits no excess but error. The defire of power in excess caused the angels to fall; the defire of knowledge in excess caused man to fall: but in charity there is no excess, neither can angel or man come in danger by it. The inclination to goodness is imprinted deeply in the nature of man; infomuch, that if it iffue not towards men, it will take unto other living creatures; as it is feen in the Turks, a cruel people, who, nevertheless, are kind to

beafts, and give alms to dogs and birds; infomuch, as Busbechius reporteth, a Christian boy in Conftantinople had like to have been ftoned for gagging in a waggishness a long billed fowl. Errors, indeed, in this virtue of goodness or charity, may be committed. The Italians have an ungracious proverb; "Tanto "buon che val niente;" "So good, that he is "good for nothing:" and one of the doctors of Italy, Nicolas Macchiavel, had the confidence to put in writing, almost in plain terms, "That "the Christian faith had given up good men " in prey to those that are tyrannical and un-"just;" which he spake, because, indeed, there was never law, or iect, or opinion did fo much magnify goodness as the Christian religion doth: therefore, to avoid the fcandal, and the danger both, it is good to take knowledge of the errors of an habit fo excellent. Seek the good of other men, but be not in bondage to their faces or fancies; for that is but facility or foftness, which taketh an honest mind prifoner. Neither give thou Æsop's cock a gem, who would be better pleafed and happier if he had a barley-corn. The example of God teacheth the lesson truly; "He sendeth his

" rain, and maketh his fun to fhine upon the " just and unjust;" but he doth not rain wealth, nor shine honour and virtues upon men equally: common benefits are to be communicated with all, but peculiar benefits with choice. And beware how in making the portrait thou breakest the pattern: for divinity maketh the love of ourselves the pattern; the love of our neighbours but the portraiture: "Sell all thou "haft, and give it to the poor, and follow "me:" but fell not all thou haft, except thou come and follow me; that is, except thou have a vocation wherein thou mayeft do as much good with little means as with great; for otherwife, in feeding the streams thou driest the fountain. Neither is there only a habit of goodness directed by right reason; but there is in some men, even in nature, a disposition towards it; as, on the other side, there is a natural malignity: for there be that in their nature do not affect the good of others. The lighter fort of malignity turneth but to a croffness, or frowardness, or aptness to oppose, or difficilness, or the like; but the deeper fort to envy, and mere mischief. Such men, in other men's calamities, are, as it were,

in feafon, and are ever on the loading part; not fo good as the dogs that licked Lazarus' fores, but like flies that are still buzzing upon any thing that is raw; mifanthropi, that make it their practice to bring men to the bough, and yet have never a tree for the purpose in their gardens, as Timon had: fuch dispositions are the very errors of human nature, and yet they are the fittest timber to make great politics of; like to knee timber that is good for thips that are ordained to be toffed, but not for building houses that shall stand firm. The parts and figns of goodness are many. If a man be gracious and courteous to strangers, it shews he is a citizen of the world, and that his heart is no island cut off from other lands. but a continent that joins to them: if he be compassionate towards the afflictions of others, it fliews that his heart is like the noble tree that is wounded itself when it gives the balm: if he eafily pardons and remits offences, it thews that his mind is planted above injuries, fo that he cannot be shot: if he be thankful for small benefits, it shews that he weighs men's minds, and not their trath: but, above all, if he have St. Paul's perfection, that he would wish to be an anathema from Christ; for the salvation of his brethren, it shews much of a divine nature, and a kind of conformity with Christ himself.

OF A KING.

- I. A KING is a mortal god on earth, unto whom the living God hath lent his own name as a great honour; but withal told him, he should die like a man, lest he should be proud, and flatter himself that God hath with his name imparted unto him his nature also.
- 2. Of all kind of men God is the least beholding unto them; for he doth most for them, and they do ordinarily least for him.
- 3. A king that would not feel his crown too heavy for him, must wear it every day; but if he think it too light, he knoweth not of what metal it is made.
- 4. He must make religion the rule of government, and not to balance the scale; for he that casteth in religion only to make the scales even, his own weight is contained in

those characters, "Mene mene, tekel uphar" "fin," "He is found too light, his kingdom "shall be taken from him."

- 5. And that king that holds not religion the best reason of state, is void of all piety and justice, the supporters of a king.
- 6. He must be able to give counsel himself, but not rely thereupon; for though happy events justify their counsels, yet it is better that the evil event of good advice be rather imputed to a subject than a sovereign.
- 7. He is the fountain of honour, which should not run with a waste pipe, less the courtiers fell the water, and then, (as papists say of their holy wells,) it loses the virtue.
- 8. He is the life of the law, not only as he is "lex loquens" himself, but because he animateth the dead letter, making it active towards all his subjects, "præmio et pæna."
- 9. A wife king must do less in altering his laws than he may; for new government is ever dangerous; it being true in the body politic, as in the corporal, that "omnis subita "immutatio est periculosa:" and though it be for the better, yet it is not without a fearful apprehension; for he that changeth the fun-

damental laws of a kingdom thinketh there is no good title to a crown but by conquest.

- 10. A king that fetteth to fale feats of justice oppressent the people; for he teacheth his judges to sell justice; and "precio parata" precio venditur justitia."
- 11. Bounty and magnificence are virtues very regal, but a prodigal king is nearer a tyrant than a parfimonious; for store at home draweth not his contemplations abroad; but want supplieth itself of what is next, and many times the next way: a king herein must be wise, and know what he may justly do.
- 12. That king which is not feared is not loved; and he that is well feen in his craft must as well study to be feared as loved; yet not loved for fear, but feared for love.
- 13. Therefore, as he must always resemble him whose great name he beareth, and that as in manifesting the sweet influence of his mercy on the severe stroke of his justice sometimes, so in this not to suffer a man of death to live; for, besides that the land doth mourn, the restraint of justice towards sin doth more retard the affection of love than the extent of mercy

doth enflame it; and fure where love is [ill] bestowed, fear is quite lost.

- 14. His greatest enemies are his flatterers; for though they ever speak on his side, yet their words still make against him.
- 15. The love which a king oweth to a weal public should not be restrained to any one particular; yet that his more special favour do restect upon some worthy ones is somewhat necessary, because there are sew of that capacity.
- 16. He must have a special care of five things, if he would not have his crown to be but to him "infelix sclicitas:"

first, that "fimulata sanctitas" be not in the church; for that is "duplex iniquitas:"

fecondly, that "inutilis æquitas" fit not in the chancery; for that is "inepta miseri"cordia:"

thirdly, that "utilis iniquitas" keep not the exchequer; for that is "crudele latro-"cinium:"

fourthly, that "fidelis temeritas" be not his general; for that will bring but "feram poenitentiam:"

infidelis prudentia" be not

his fecretary; for that is "anguis fub viridi" herba."

To conclude; as he is of the greatest power, so he is subject to the greatest cares, made the servant of his people, or else he were without a calling at all.

He then that honoureth him not is next an atheist, wanting the fear of God in his heart.

OF NOBILITY.

WE will fpeak of nobility first as a portion of an estate, then as a condition of particular persons. A monarchy, where there is no nobility at all, is ever a pure and absolute tyranny, as that of the Turks; for nobility attempers sovereignty, and draws the eyes of the people somewhat aside from the line royal: but for democracies they need it not; and they are commonly more quiet, and less subject to sedition, than where there are stirps of nobles; for men's eyes are upon the business, and not upon the persons; or, if upon the persons, it is for the business sake, as sittest, and not for

flags and pedigree. We see the Switzers latt well, notwithstanding their diversity of religion and of cantons; for utility is their bond, and not respects. The united provinces of the Low Countries in their government excel; for where there is an equality the confultations are more indifferent, and the payments and tributes more cheerful. A great and potent nobility addeth majesty to a monarch, but diminisheth power; and putteth life and spirit into the people, but presseth their fortune. It is well when nobles are not too great for fovereignty nor for justice; and yet maintained in that height, as the infolency of inferiors may be broken upon them before it come on too fast upon the majesty of kings. A numerous nobility causeth poverty and inconvenience in a state, for it is a surcharge of expense; and besides, it being of necessity that many of the nobility fall in time to be weak in fortune, it maketh a kind of disproportion between honour and means.

As for nobility in particular persons, it is a reverend thing to see an ancient castle or building not in decay, or to see a fair timber tree sound and persect; how much more to

behold an ancient noble family, which hath flood against the waves and weathers of time? for new nobility is but the act of power, but ancient nobility is the act of time. Those that are first raised to nobility, are commonly more virtuous, but less innocent, than their descendants; for there is rarely any rifing but by a commixture of good and evil arts: but it is reason the memory of their virtues remain to their posterity, and their faults die with themfelves. Nobility of birth commonly abateth industry; and he that is not industrious envieth him that is: befides, noble perfons cannot go much higher; and he that standeth at a stay when others rise, can hardly avoid motions of envy. On the other fide, nobility extinguisheth the passive envy from others towards them, because they are in possession of honour. Certainly, kings that have able men of their nobility shall find ease in employing them, and a better flide into their business; for people naturally bend to them as born in somefort to command.

OF SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES.

SHEPHERDS of people had need know the calendars of tempests in state, which are commonly greatest when things grow to equality; as natural tempests are greatest about the equinoctia: and as there are certain hollow blasts of wind and secret swellings of seas before a tempest, so are there in states:

"Ille etiam cæcos instare tumultus Sæpe monet, fraudesque et operta tumuscere bella."

Libels and licentious discourses against the state, when they are frequent and open; and in like fort false news often running up and down to the disadvantage of the state, and hastily embraced, are amongst the signs of troubles. Virgil, giving the pedigree of same, saith she was sister to the giants;

"Illam terra parens, ira irritata deorum,

Extremam (ut perhibent) Coeo Enceladoque fororem

Progenuit."——Æneid. IV. 177.

As if fames were the relics of feditions past; but they are no less indeed the preludes of

feditions to come. Howfoever he noteth it right, that feditious tumults, and feditious fames differ no more but as brother and fifter. masculine and feminine; especially if it come to that, that the best actions of a state, and the most plausible, and which ought to give greatest contentment, are taken in ill sense and traduced; for that shews the envy great, as Tacitus faith, " conflata magna invidia, seu bene, " feu male, gesta premunt." Neither doth it follow, that because these fames are a sign of troubles, that the suppressing of them with too much severity should be a remedy of troubles; for the despising of them many times checks them best, and the going about to stop them doth but make a wonder long-lived. Also that kind of obedience which Tacitus speaketh of is to be held suspected; " Erant in officio, fed "tamen qui mallent mandata imperantium " interpretari, quam exequi;" disputing, excufing, cavilling upon mandates and directions is a kind of shaking off the yoke and affay of disobedience; especially if in those disputings they which are for the direction speak fearfully and tenderly, and those that are against it audaciously. Anno medu & Bow J.

Alfo, as Machiavel noteth well, when princes, that ought to be common parents, make themselves as a party and lean to a side, it is as a boat that is overthrown by uneven weight on the one side; as was well seen in the time of Henry the third of France; for sirst himself entered league for the extirpation of the protestants, and presently after the same league was turned upon himself: for when the authority of princes is made but an accessary to a cause, and that there be other bands that the faster than the band of sovereignty, kings begin to be put almost out of possession.

Alfo, when discords, and quarrels, and factions are carried openly and audaciously, it is a fign the reverence of government is loft; for the motions of the greatest persons in a government ought to be as the motions of the planets under "primum mobile," (according to the old opinion,) which is, that every of them is carried swiftly by the highest motion, and softly in their own motion; and, therefore, when great ones in their own particular motion move violently, and, as Tacitus expressentium metres.

"minissent," it is a sign the orbs are out of frame; for reverence is that wherewith princes are girt from God, who threateneth the disfolving thereof; "folvam cingula regum."

So when any of the four pillars of government are mainly shaken, or weakened, (which are religion, justice, counsel, and treasure,) men had need to pray for fair weather. But let us pass from this part of predictions, (concerning which, nevertheless, more light may be taken from that which followeth,) and let us speak first of the materials of seditions, then of the motives of them, and thirdly of the remedies.

Concerning the materials of fedition, it is a thing well to be confidered; for the furest way to prevent feditions, (if the times do bear it,) is to take away the matter of them; for if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to tell whence the spark shall come that shall set it on fire. The matter of seditions is of two kinds, much poverty and much discontentment. It is certain, so many overthrown estates, so many votes for troubles. Lucan noteth well the state of Rome before the civil war,

- " Hinc ulura vorax, rapidumque in tempore fœnus,
- " Hinc concusta fides, et multis utile bellum."

This fame, "multis utile bellum," is an affured and infallible fign of a state disposed to seditions and troubles; and if this poverty and broken estate in the better fort be joined with a want and necessity in the mean people, the danger is imminent and great; for the rebellions of the belly are the worst. As for discontentments, they are in the politic body like to humours in the natural, which are apt to gather a preternatural heat and to enflame; and let no prince measure the danger of them by this, whether they be just or unjust; for that were to imagine people to be too reasonable, who do often spurn at their own good; nor yet by this, whether the griefs whereupon they rife, be in fact great or small; for they are the most dangerous discontentments where the fear is greater than the feeling: "Dolendi " modus, timendi non item:" besides, in great oppressions, the same things that provoke the patience, do withal mate the courage; but in fears it is not fo: neither let any prince or state be secure concerning discontentments because they have been often, or have been

long, and yet no peril hath enfued; for as it is true that every vapour or fume doth not turn into a ftorm, fo it is nevertheless true, that ftorms, though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last; and as the Spanish proverb noteth well, "The cord breaketh at "the last by the weakest pull."

The causes and motives of seditions are innovation in religion, taxes, alteration of laws and customs, breaking of privileges, general oppression, advancement of unworthy persons, strangers, dearths, disbanded soldiers, factions grown desperate; and whatsoever in offending people joineth and knitteth them in a common cause.

For the remedies there may be some geneneral preservatives, whereof we will speak: as for the just cure, it must answer to the particular disease; and so be left to counsel rather than rule.

The first remedy or prevention is to remove by all means possible that material cause of sedition whereof we speak, which is want and poverty in the estate; to which purpose serveth the opening and well balancing of trade; the cherishing of manusactures; the banishing of idleness; the repressing of waste and excess by fumptuary laws; the improvement and hufbanding of the foil; the regulating of prices of things vendible; the moderating of taxes and tributes, and the like. Generally it is to be forefeen that the population of a kingdom, (especially if it be not mown down by wars,) do not exceed the flock of the kingdom which should maintain them: neither is the population to be reckoned only by number; for a fmaller number that fpend more and earn lefs, do wear out an estate sooner than a greater number that live lower and gather more: therefore the multiplying of nobility and other degrees of quality, in an over-proportion to the common people, doth fpeedily bring a state to necessity; and so doth likewise an overgrown clergy, for they bring nothing to the flock; and in like manner when more are bred scholars than preferments can take off.di

This likewise to be remembered, that, forasmuch as the increase of any estate must be upon the foreigner, (for whatsoever is somewhere gotten is somewhere lost,) there be but three things which one nation selleth unto another; the commodity as nature yieldeth it; the manufacture; and the vecture or carriage: so that if these two wheels go, wealth will flow as in a spring tide: and it cometh many times to pass, that "materiam superabit opus," that the work and carriage is more worth than the material, and enricheth a state more; as is notably seen in the Low Country men, who have the best mines above ground in the world.

Above all things good policy is to be used, that the treasure and monies in a state be not gathered into sew hands; for, otherwise, a state may have a great stock and yet starve: and money is like muck, not good except it be spread. This is done chiefly by suppressing, or, at the least, keeping a strait hand upon the devouring trades of usury, ingrossing, great pasturages, and the like.

For removing discontentments, or, at least, the danger of them, there is in every state, (as we know,) two portions of subjects, the nobles and the commonalty. When one of these is discontent the danger is not great; for common people are of slow motion if they be not excited by the greater fort; and the greater fort are of small strength, except the multitude

be apt and ready to move of themselves: then is the danger when the greater fort do but wait for the troubling of the waters amongst the meaner, that then they may declare themselves. The poets seign that the rest of the Gods would have bound Jupiter, which he hearing of by the counsel of Pallas, sent for Briareus with his hundred hands to come in to his aid: an emblem, no doubt, to shew how safe it is for monarchs to make sure of the good will of common people.

To give moderate liberty for griefs and discontentments to evaporate, (so it be without too great insolency or bravery,) is a safe way; for he that turneth the humours back, and maketh the wound bleed inwards, endangereth malign ulcers and pernicious imposshumations.

The part of Epimetheus might well become Prometheus in the case of discontentments, for there is not a better provision against them. Epimetheus, when griefs and evils flew abroad, at last shut the lid, and kept hope in the bottom of the vessel. Certainly, the politic and artificial nourishing and entertaining of hopes, and carrying men from hopes to hopes is one of the best antidotes against the poison of discontentments: and it is a certain sign of a wise government and proceeding when it can hold men's hearts by hopes, when it cannot by satisfaction; and when it can handle things in such manner as no evil shall appear so peremptory, but that it hath some outlet of hope; which is the less hard to do, because both particular persons and factions are apt enough to flatter themselves, or, at least, to brave that which they believe not.

Also the foresight and prevention that there be no likely or fit head whereunto discontented persons may resort, and under whom they may join, is a known but an excellent point of caution. I understand a fit head to be one that hath greatness and reputation, that hath confidence with the discontented party, and upon whom they turn their eyes, and that is thought discontented in his own particular; which kind of persons are either to be won and reconciled to the state, and that in a fast and true manner; or to be fronted with some other of the same party that may oppose them, and so divide the reputation.

Generally, the dividing and breaking of all factions and combinations that are adverse to the state, and setting them at distance, or, at least, distrust among themselves is not one of the worst remedies; for it is a desperate case, if those that hold with the proceeding of the state be full of discord and faction, and those that are against it be entire and united.

I have noted that fome witty and sharp fpeeches which have fallen from princes, have given fire to feditions. Cæfar did himfelf infinite hurt in that speech, "Sylla nescivit "literas, non potuit dictare;" for it did utterly cut off that hope which men had entertained, that he would at one time or other give over his dictatorship. Galba undid himfelf by that speech, "legi a se militem, non "emi;" for it put the foldiers out of hope of the donative. Probus, likewife, by that speech, " si vixero, non opus erit amplius Romano "imperio militibus;" a speech of great defpair for the foldiers, and many the like. Surely, princes had need in tender matter and ticklish times to beware what they fay, especially in these short speeches which fly abroad like darts, and are thought to be shot out of their fecret intentions; for as for large difcourses, they are flat things, and not so much noted.

Lastly, let princes against all events, not be without fome great person, one or rather more, of military valour, near unto them, for the repressing of seditions in their beginnings; for without that there useth to be more trepidation in court upon the first breaking out of troubles, than were fit; and the state runneth the danger of that which Tacitus faith, " atque is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum " facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes "paterentur:" but let fuch military persons be affured and well reputed of, rather than factious and popular; holding also good correspondence with the other great men in the state, or else the remedy is worse than the difeafe.

OF ATHEISM.

I HAD rather believe all the fables in the legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran than that this universal frame is without a mind: and, therefore, God never wrought miracle to convince atheism, because his ordinary works convince it. It is true that a little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheifin; but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion; for while the mind of man looketh upon fecond causes scattered, it may sometimes rest in them and go no farther; but when it beholdeth the chain of them confederate and linked together, it must needs fly to providence and Deity: nay, even that school which is most accused of atheism, doth most demonstrate religion; that is, the school of Leucippus, and Democritus, and Epicurus: for it is a thousand times more credible, that four mutable elements and one immutable fifth effence, duly and eternally placed, need no God, than that an army of infinite fmall portions, or feeds unplaced, fhould have produced this order and beauty without a divine marshal:

The scripture saith, "The fool hath said in " his heart, there is no God:" it is not faid, "The fool hath thought in his heart;" fo as he rather faith it by rote to himself, as that he would have, than that he can thoroughly believe it, or be perfuaded of it; for none deny there is a God, but those for whom it maketh that there were no God. It appeareth in nothing more, that atheism is rather in the lip than in the heart of man, than by this, that atheifts will ever be talking of that their opinion, as if they fainted in it within themselves, and would be glad to be firengthened by the confent of others: nay more, you shall have atheifts strive to get disciples, as it fareth with other feets; and, which is most of all, you shall have of them that will suffer for atheism. and not recant; whereas, if they did truly think that there were no fuch thing as God, why fhould they trouble themselves? Epicurus is charged, that he did but diffemble for his credit's fake when he affirmed there were bleffed natures, but fuch as enjoyed themselves without having respect to the government of the world; wherein they fay he did temporize, though in fecret he thought there was

no God: but certainly he is traduced, for his words are noble and divine; "Non deos vulgi " negare profanum; fed vulgi opiniones diis "applicare profanum." Plato could have faid no more; and, although he had the confidence to deny the administration, he had not the power to deny the nature. The Indians of the west have names for their particular gods, though they have no name for God; as if the heathens should have had the names Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, &c. but not the word Deus; which shews, that even those barbarous people have the notion, though they have not the latitude and extent of it: fo that against atheists the very savages take part with the very fubtilest philosophers. The contemplative atheift is rare, a Diagoras, a Bion, a Lucian perhaps, and fome others; and yet they feem to be more than they are; for that all that impugn a received religion or fuperstition, are by the adverse part branded with the name of atheists: but the great atheists indeed are hypocrites, which are ever handling holy things, but without feeling; fo as they must needs be cauterized in the end. The causes of atheism are, divisions in religion, if they be many;

for any one main division addeth zeal to both fides, but many divisions introduce atheism: another is, scandal of priests, when it is come to that which S. Bernard faith, " non est jam " dicere, ut populus, fic facerdos; quia nec fic " populus, ut facerdos:" a third is, a custom of profane fcoffing in holy matters, which doth by little and little deface the reverence of religion; and, laftly, learned times, especially with peace and prosperity; for troubles and advertities do more how men's minds to religion. They that deny a God destroy man's nobility; for certainly man is of kin to the beafts by his body: and, if he be not of kin to-God by his spirit, he is a base and ignoble creature. It destroys likewise magnanimity, and the raifing of human nature; for take an example of a dog, and mark what a generofity and courage he will put on when he finds himself maintained by a man, who to him is inftead of a God, or "melior natura;" which courage is manifestly such as that creature, without that confidence of a better nature than his own, could never attain. So man, when he resteth and affureth himself upon divine protection and favour, gathereth a force

and faith which human nature in itself could not obtain; therefore, as atheism is in all respects hateful, so in this, that it depriveth human nature of the means to exalt itself above human frailty. As it is in particular persons, so it is in nations: never was there fuch a state for magnanimity as Rome; of this state hear what Cicero faith, "Quam vo-"lumus, licet, patres conscripti, nos amemus, "tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore "Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus "Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso hujus gentis "et terræ domestico nativoque sensu Italos " ipsos et Latinos; sed pietate, ac religione, " atque hac una fapientia, quod deorum im-" mortalium numine omnia regi, gubernari-" que perspeximus, omnes gentes nationesque " fuperavimus."

OF SUPERSTITION.

In were better to have no opinion of God at all, than fuch an opinion as is unworthy of him; for the one is unbelief, the other is conturnely: and certainly superstition is the reproach of the Deity. Plutarch faith well to that purpose; "Surely," faith he, "I had ra-"ther a great deal men should say there was " no fuch man at all as Plutarch, than that " they should say that there was one Plutarch, "that would eat his children as foon as they "were born," as the poets speak of Saturn: and, as the contumely is greater towards God, so the danger is greater towards men. Atheism leaves a man to fense, to philosophy, to natural piety, to laws, to reputation; all which may be guides to an outward moral virtue, though religion were not; but superstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute monarchy in the minds of men: therefore atheism did never perturb states; for it makes men wary of themselves, as looking no farther, and we fee the times inclined to atheism, (as the time of Augustus Cæsar,) were civil times: but supersition hath been the confusion of many states, and bringeth in a new "primum mo-"bile," that ravisheth all the spheres of government. The mafter of superstition is the people, and in all superstition wise men follow fools; and arguments are fitted to practice in a reversed order. It was gravely faid by some of the prelates in the council of Trent, where the doctrine of the schoolmen bare great sway, that the schoolmen were like astronomers. which did feign eccentrics and epicycles, and fuch engines of orbs to fave the phænomena, though they knew there were no fuch things; and, in like manner, that the schoolmen had framed a number of fubtile and intricate axioms and theorems, to fave the practice of the church. The causes of superstition are pleasing and fenfual rites and ceremonies; excess of outward and pharifaical holiness; over-great reverence of traditions, which cannot but load the church; the stratagems of prelates for their own ambition and lucre; the favouring too much of good intentions, which openeth the gate to conceits and novelties; the taking an aim at divine matters by human, which cannot but breed mixture of imaginations; and, lastly, barbarous times, especially joined with calamities and disasters. Superstition without a vail is a deformed thing; for as it addeth deformity to an ape to be so like a man, so the fimilitude of fuperflition to religion makes it the more deformed: and, as wholesome meat corrupteth to little worms, fo good forms and orders corrupt into a number of petty observances. There is a superstition in avoiding superstition, when men think to do best if they go farthest from the superstition formerly received; therefore care should be had that, (as it fareth in ill purgings,) the good be not taken away with the bad, which commonly is done when the people is the reformer.

OF TRAVEL.

TRAVEL in the younger fort is a part of education; in the elder a part of experience. He that travelleth into a country, before he hath fome entrance into the language, goeth to school, and not to travel. That young men travel under some tutor, or grave servant, I allow well; so that he be such a one that hath the language, and hath been in the country before; whereby he may be able to tell them what things are worthy to be seen in the country where they go, what acquaintances they are to seek, what exercises or discipline the place yieldeth; for else young men shall go hooded, and look abroad little. It is a strange

thing, that in fea voyages, where there is nothing to be feen but fky and fea, men should make diaries; but in land travel, wherein fo much is to be observed, for the most part they omit it; as if chance were fitter to be registered than observation: let diaries, therefore, be brought in use. The things to be seen and observed are the courts of princes, especially when they give audience to ambassadors; the courts of justice while they fit and hear causes; and fo of confistories ecclefiastic; the churches and monasteries, with the monuments which are therein extant; the walls and fortifications of cities and towns; and fo the havens and harbours, antiquities and ruins, libraries, colleges, disputations, and lectures where any are; shipping and navies; houses and gardens of state and pleasure near great cities; armories, arfenals, magazines, exchanges, burfes, warehouses, exercises of horsemanship, fencing, training of foldiers, and the like; comedies, fuch whereunto the better fort of persons do refort; treasuries of jewels and robes; cabinets and rarities; and to conclude, whatfoever is memorable in the places where they go; after all which the tutors or fervants ought to make diligent inquiry. As for triumphs, masks, feasts, weddings, funerals, capital executions, and fuch shews, men need not to be put in mind of them; yet are they not to be neglected. If you will have a young man to put his travel into a little room, and in short time to gather much, this you must do: first, as was said, he must have some entrance into the language before he goeth; then he must have such a fervant, or tutor as knoweth the country, as was likewise said: let him carry with him also some card or book describing the country where he travelleth, which will be a good key to his inquiry; let him keep also a diary; let him not flay long in one city or town, more or less as the place deserveth, but not long; nay, when he stayeth in one city or town, let him change his lodging from one end and part of the town to another, which is a great adamant of acquaintance; let him sequester himself from the company of his countrymen, and diet in fuch places where there is good company of the nation where he travelleth; let him upon his removes from one place to another procure recommendation to some perfon of quality refiding in the place whither

he removeth, that he may use his favour in those things he desireth to see or know: thus he may abridge his travel with much profit. As for the acquaintance which is to be fought in travel, that which is most of all profitable is acquaintance with the fecretaries and employed men of ambassadors; for so in travelling in one country he shall suck the experience of many: let him also see and visit eminent persons in all kinds which are of great name abroad, that he may be able to tell how the life agreeth with the fame; for quarrels, they are with care and difcretion to be avoided; they are commonly for mistresses, healths, place, and words: and let a man beware how he keepeth company with choleric and quarrelfome persons; for they will engage him intotheir own quarrels. When a traveller returneth home, let him not leave the countries where he hath travelled altogether behind him; but maintain a correspondence by letters with those of his acquaintance which are of most worth; and let his travel appear rather in his discourse, than in his apparel or gesture; and in his discourse let him be rather advised in his answers, than forward to tell stories:

and let it appear that he doth not change his country manners for those of foreign parts; but only prick in some flowers of that he hath learned abroad into the customs of his own country.

OF EMPIRE.

IT is a miserable state of mind to have few things to defire, and many things to fear; and yet that commonly is the case of kings, who being at the highest, want matter of desire, which makes their minds more languishing; and have many representations of perils and shadows, which make their minds the less clear; and this is one reason also of that effect which the scripture speaketh of, "That "the king's heart is infcrutable;" for multitude of jealousies, and lack of some predominant defire, that should marshal and put in order all the rest, maketh any man's heart hard to find or found. Hence it comes likewife, that princes many times make themfelves defires, and fet their hearts upon toys; fometimes upon a building; fometimes upon

erecting of an order; fometimes upon the advancing of a person; sometimes upon obtaining excellency in some art, or feat of the hand; as Nero for playing on the harp; Domitian for certainty of the hand with the arrow; Commodus for playing at fence; Caracalla for driving chariots, and the like. This feemeth incredible unto those that know not the principle, that the mind of man is more cheered and refreshed by profiting in small things, than by flanding at a flay in great. We see also that kings that have been fortunate conquerors in their first years, it being not possible for them to go forward infinitely, but that they must have some check or arrest in their fortunes, turn in their latter years to be fuperstitious and melancholy; as did Alexander the Great, Dioclesian, and in our memory Charles the Fifth, and others; for he that is used to go forward, and findeth a stop, falleth out of his own favour, and is not the thing he was.

To speak now of the true temper of empire, it is a thing rare and hard to keep; for both temper and distemper consist of contraries: but it is one thing to mingle contraries, another to interchange them. The answer of Apollonius to Vespasian is full of excellent instruction. Vespasian asked him, what was Nero's overthrow? he answered, Nero could touch and tune the harp well, but in government sometimes he used to wind the pins too high, sometimes to let them down too low; and certain it is, that nothing destroyeth authority so much as the unequal and untimely interchange of power pressed too far, and relaxed too much.

This is true, that the wisdom of all these latter times in princes' affairs, is rather fine deliveries, and shiftings of dangers and mischiefs, when they are near, than solid and grounded courses to keep them aloos: but this is but to try masteries with fortune; and let men beware how they neglect and suffer matter of trouble to be prepared; for no man can forbid the spark, nor tell whence it may come. The difficulties in princes' business are many and great; but the greatest difficulty is often in their own mind; for it is common with princes, (saith Tacitus,) to will contradictories; "Sunt plerumque regum vo-"luntates vehementes, et inter se contrariæ;"

for it is the folecism of power to think to command the end, and yet not to endure the means.

Kings have to deal with their neighbours, their wives, their children, their prelates or clergy, their nobles, their fecond nobles or gentlemen, their merchants, their commons, and their men of war; and from all these arise dangers, if care and circumspection be not used.

First, for their neighbours there can no general rule be given, (the occasions are so variable,) fave one which ever holdeth; which is, that princes do keep due centinel, that none of their neighbours do overgrow fo, (by increase of territory, by embracing of trade, by approaches, or the like,) as they become more able to annoy them than they were; and this is generally the work of standing counsels to foresee and to hinder it. During that triumvirate of kings, king Henry the eighth of England, Francis the first, king of France, and Charles the fifth emperor, there was fuch a watch kept that none of the three could win a palm of ground, but the other two would straightways balance it, either by

confederation, or, if need were, by a war; and would not in any wife take up peace at interest: and the like was done by that league, (which, Guicciardine saith, was the security of Italy,) made between Ferdinando, king of Naples, Lorenzius Medices, and Ludovicus Sforsa, potentates, the one of Florence, the other of Milan. Neither is the opinion of some of the schoolmen to be received, that a war cannot justly be made, but upon a precedent injury or prevocation; for there is no question, but a just fear of an imminent danger, though there be no blow given, is a lawful cause of a war.

For their wives, there are cruel examples of them. Livia is infamed for the poisoning of her husband; Roxolana, Solyman's wife, was the destruction of that renowned prince, Sultan Mustapha, and otherwise troubled his house and succession; Edward the second of England's queen had the principal hand in the deposing and murder of her husband. This kind of danger is then to be feared chiefly when the wives have plots for the raising of their own children, or else that they be advoutresses.

For their children, the tragedies likewise of dangers from them have been many; and generally the entering of fathers into fuspicion of their children hath been ever unfortunate. The destruction of Mustapha, (that we named before,) was fo fatal to Solyman's line, as the fuccession of the Turks from Solyman until this day is suspected to be untrue, and of strange blood; for that Selymus the fecond was thought to be supposititious. The destruction of Crispus, a young prince of rare towardness, by Constantinus the Great, his father, was in like manner fatal to his house, for both Constantinus and Constance, his sons, died violent deaths; and Constantius, his other fon, did little better, who died indeed of fickness, but after that Julianus had taken arms against him. The destruction of Demetrius, son to Philip the fecond of Macedon, turned upon the father, who died of repentance: and many like examples there are, but few or none where the fathers had good by fuch diffrust, except it were where the fons were up in open arms against them; as was Selymas the first against Bajazet, and the three fons of Henry the fecond king of England.

For their prelates, when they are proud and great there is also danger from them; as it was in the times of Anselmus and Thomas Beckett, archbishops of Canterbury, who with their crossers did almost try it with the king's sword; and yet they had to deal with stout and haughty kings, William Rusus, Henry the first, and Henry the second. The danger is not from that state, but where it hath a dependence of foreign authority; or where the churchmen come in, and are elected, not by the collation of the king, or particular patrons, but by the people.

For their nobles, to keep them at a distance it is not amis; but to depress them may make a king more absolute, but less safe, and less able to perform any thing that he desires. I have noted it in my history of king Henry the seventh of England, who depressed his nobility, whereupon it came to pass that his times were full of difficulties and troubles; for the nobility, though they continued loyal unto him, yet did they not co-operate with him in his business; so that in effect he was fain to do all things himself.

For their fecond nobles, there is not much

danger from them, being a body dispersed: they may sometimes discourse high, but that doth little hurt; besides, they are a counterpose to the higher nobility, that they grow not too potent; and, lastly, being the most immediate in authority with the common people, they do best temper popular commotions.

For their merchants, they are "vena porta;" and if they flourish not, a kingdom may have good limbs, but will have empty veins, and nourish little. Taxes and imposts upon them do seldom good to the king's revenue, for that that he wins in the hundred, he loseth in the shire; the particular rates being increased, but the total bulk of trading rather decreased.

For their commons, there is little danger from them, except it be where they have great and potent heads; or where you meddle with the point of religion, or their customs, or means of life.

For their men of war, it is a dangerous flate where they live and remain in a body, and are used to donatives, whereof we see examples in the janizaries and pretorian bands of Rome; but trainings of men, and arming

them in feveral places, and under feveral commanders, and without donatives, are things of defence and no danger.

Princes are like to heavenly bodies, which cause good or evil times; and which have much veneration, but no rest. All precepts concerning kings are in effect comprehended in those two remembrances, "memento quod es homo;" and "memento quod es Deus, "or vice Dei;" the one bridleth their power, and the other their will.

OF COUNSEL.

THE greatest trust between man and man is the trust of giving counsel; for in other confidences men commit the parts of life, their lands, their goods, their children, their credit, some particular affair; but to such as they make their counsellors they commit the whole: by how much the more they are obliged to all faith and integrity. The wifest princes need not think it any diminution to their greatness, or derogation to their sufficiency, to rely upon counsel. God himself is

not without, but hath made it one of the great names of his bleffed Son, "The coun-"fellor." Solomon hath pronounced that, " in counsel is stability." Things will have their first or second agitation: if they be not toffed upon the arguments of counfel, they will be toffed upon the waves of fortune; and be full of inconftancy, doing and undoing, like the reeling of a drunken man. Solomon's fon found the force of counsel, as his father faw the necessity of it; for the beloved kingdom of God was first rent and broken by ill counsel; upon which counsel there are set for our instruction the two marks whereby bad counsel is for ever best discerned, that it was young counsel for the persons, and violent counsel for the matter.

The ancient times do fet forth in figure both the incorporation and infeparable conjunction of counfel with kings, and the wife and politic use of counfel by kings: the one, in that they say Jupiter did marry Metis, which fignifieth counsel; whereby they intend that sovereignty is married to counsel; the other in that which followeth, which was thus: they say, after Jupiter was married to

Metis, she conceived by him and was with child, but Jupiter suffered her not to stay till the brought forth, but eat her up; whereby he became himself with child, and was delivered of Pallas armed out of his head: Which monstrous fable containeth a secret of empire, how kings are to make use of their council of state: that first, they ought to refer matters unto them, which is the first begetting or impregnation; but when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped in the womb of their council, and grow ripe and ready to be brought forth, that then they fuffer not their council to go through with the resolution and direction, as if it depended on them; but take the matter back into their own hands, and make it appear to the world, that the decrees and final directions, (which, because they come forth with prudence and power, are refembled to Pallas armed,) proceeded from themselves; and not only from their authority, but, (the more to add reputation to themselves,) from their head and device.

Let us now speak of the inconveniences of counsel, and of the remedies. The inconveniences that have been noted in calling and using counsel, are three: first, the revealing of affairs, whereby they become less secret: secondly, the weakening of the authority of princes, as if they were less of themselves: thirdly, the danger of being unfaithfully counselled, and more for the good of them that counsel, than of him that is counselled; for which inconveniences, the doctrine of Italy, and practice of France in some kings times, hath introduced cabinet councils; a remedy worse than the disease.

As to fecrecy, princes are not bound to communicate all matters with all counfellors, but may extract and felect; neither is it necetiary, that he, that confulteth what he should do, should declare what he will do; but let princes beware that the unsecreting of their affairs comes not from themselves: and, as for cabinet councils, it may be their motto, "plenus rimarum sum:" one futile person, that maketh it his glory to tell, will do more hurt than many, that know it their duty to conceal. It is true there be some affairs which require extreme secrecy, which will hardly go beyond one or two persons besides the king: neither are those counsels un-

prosperous; for, besides the secrecy, they commonly go on constantly in one spirit of direction without distraction: but then it must be a prudent king, such as is able to grind with a hand-mill; and those inward counsellors had need also be wise men, and especially true and trusty to the king's ends; as it was with king Henry the seventh of England, who in his greatest business imparted himself to none, except it were to Morton and Fox.

For weakening of authority the fable theweth the remedy: nay, the majefty of kings is rather exalted than diminished when they are in the chair of council; neither was there ever prince bereaved of his dependances by his council, except where there hath been either an over-greatness in one counsellor, or an over-strict combination in divers, which are things soon found and holpen.

For the last inconvenience, that men will counsel with an eye to themselves; certainly, "non inveniet fidem super terram," is meant of the nature of times, and not of all particular persons. There be that are in nature faithful and sincere, and plain and direct, not crafty and involved: let princes, above all, draw to

themselves such natures. Besides, counsellors are not commonly so united, but that one counsellor keepeth centinel over another; so that if any do counsel out of faction or private ends, it commonly comes to the king's ear: but the best remedy is, if princes know their counsellors, as well as their counsellors know them;

" Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos."

And, on the other fide, counsellors should not be too speculative into their sovereign's person. The true composition of a counsellor is, rather to be skilful in their master's business, than in his nature; for then he is like to advise him, and not to feed his humour. It is of fingular ase to princes if they take the opinions of their council both separately and together; for private opinion is more free, but opinion before others is more reverend. In private men are more bold in their own humours. and in confort men are more obnoxious to others humours; therefore it is good to take both; and of the inferior fort, rather in private, to preserve freedom; of the greater, rather in confort, to preferve respect. It is in vain for

princes to take counsel concerning matters, if they take no counfel likewife concerning perfons; for all matters are as dead images; and the life of the execution of affairs refleth in the good choice of perfons: neither is it enough to confult concerning perfons, "fe-"cundum genera," as in an idea or mathematical description, what the kind and character of the person should be; for the greatest errors are committed, and the most judgment is flewn, in the choice of individuals. It was truly faid, "optimi confiliarii mortui;" "books "will fpeak plain when counfellors blanch;" therefore it is good to be conversant in them, fpecially the books of fuch as themselves have been actors upon the stage.

The councils at this day in most places are but familiar meetings, where matters are rather talked on than debated; and they run too swift to the order or act of council. It were better that in causes of weight the matter were propounded one day and not spoken to till the next day; "in nocte con-"filium:" so was it done in the commission of union between Scotland and England, which was a grave and orderly assembly. I com-

mend fet days for petitions; for both it gives the fuitors more certainty for their attendance. and it frees the meetings for matters of estate. that they may "hoc agere." In choice of committees for ripening business for the council, it is better to choose indifferent persons. than to make an indifferency by putting in those that are strong on both sides. I commend also standing commissions; as for trade, for treasure, for war, for suits, for some provinces; for where there be divers particular councils, and but one council of state, (as it is in Spain,) they are, in effect, no more than standing commissions, save that they have greater authority. Let fuch as are to inform councils out of their particular professions, (as lawyers, feamen, mintmen, and the like,) be first heard before committees; and then, as occasion serves, before the council; and let them not come in multitudes, or in a tribunitious manner; for that is to clamour councils, not to inform them. A long table and a fquare table, or feats about the walls feem things of form, but are things of fubstance; for at a long table a few at the upper end, in effect, sway all the business; but in the other

form there is more use of the counsellors' opinions that sit lower. A king, when he presides in council, let him beware how he opens his own inclination too much in that which he propoundeth; for else counsellors will but take the wind of him, and instead of giving free counsel, will sing him a song of "placebo."

OF DELAYS.

FORTUNE is like the market, where many times, if you can ftay a little, the price will fall; and again, it is sometimes like Sibylla's offer, which at first offereth the commodity at full, then consumeth part and part, and still holdeth up the price; for occasion, (as it is in the common verse,) turneth a bald noddle after she hath presented her locks in front, and no hold taken; or, at least, turneth the handle of the bottle first to be received, and after the belly, which is hard to class. There is surely no greater wisdom than well to time the beginnings and onsets of things. Dangers are no more light, if they once seem light;

and more dangers have deceived men than forced them: nay, it were better to meet fome dangers half way, though they come nothing near, than to keep too long a watch upon their approaches; for if a man watch too long, it is odds he will fall afleep. On the other fide, to be deceived with too long shadows, (as fome have been when the moon was low and shone on their enemies back,) and so to shoot off before the time; or to teach dangers to come on by over-early buckling towards them, is another extreme. The ripenets or unripeness of the occasion, (as we faid.) must ever be well weighed; and generally it is good to commit the beginnings of all great actions to Argos with his hundred eyes, and the ends to Briareus with his hundred hands; first to watch, and then to speed: for the helmet of Pluto, which maketh the politic man go invifible, is fecrecy in the council, and celerity in the execution; for when things are once come to the execution, there is no fecrecy comparable to celerity; like the motion of a bullet in the air, which flieth fo fwift as it outruns the eye.

a led man who will be all the man help help

It is a point of canadiant

a deal was most notified

is the fit select of the

OF CUNNING.

WE take cunning for a finister or crooked wifdom; and, certainly, there is great difference between a cunning man and a wife man, not only in point of honesty, but in point of ability. There be that can pack the cards, and yet cannot play well; fo there are fome that are good in canvasses and factions, that are otherwise weak men. Again, it is one thing to understand persons, and another thing to understand matters; for many are perfect in men's humours that are not greatly capable of the real part of business, which is the conflitution of one that hath studied men more . than books. Such men are fitter for practice than for counsel, and they are good but in their own ally: turn them to new men, and they have loft their aim; fo as the old rule to know a fool from a wife man, "Mitte ambos " nudos ad ignotos, et videbis," doth scarce hold for them; and, because these cunning men are like haberdashers of small wares, it is not amiss to set forth their shop.

It is a point of cunning to wait upon him with whom you speak with your eye, as the Jesuits give it in precept; for there be many wise men that have secret hearts and transparent countenances: yet this would be done with a demure abasing of your eye sometimes, as the Jesuits also do use.

Another is, that when you have any thing to obtain of prefent dispatch, you entertain and amuse the party with whom you deal with some other discourse, that he be not too much awake to make objections. I knew a counsellor and secretary that never came to queen Elizabeth of England with bills to sign, but he would always first put her into some discourse of estate, that she might the less mind the bills.

The like furprife may be made by moving things when the party is in hafte, and cannot flay to confider advifedly of that is moved.

If a man would cross a business that he doubts some other would handsomely and effectually move, let him pretend to wish it well, and move it himself in such fort as may foil it.

The breaking off in the midst of that one

was about to fay, as if he took himself up, breeds a greater appetite in him, with whom you confer, to know more.

And because it works better when any thing seemeth to be gotten from you by question, than if you offer it of yourself, you may lay a bait for a question by shewing another visage and countenance than you are wont; to the end, to give occasion for the party to ask what the matter is of the change, as Nehemiah did, "And I had not before that time been "fad before the king."

In things that are tender and unpleafing it is good to break the ice by some whose words are of less weight, and to reserve the more weighty voice to come in as by chance, so that he may be asked the question upon the other's speech; as Narcissus did in relating to Claudius the marriage of Messalina and Silius.

In things that a man would not be feen in himself, it is a point of cunning to borrow the name of the world; as to fay, "The world fays," or, "There is a speech abroad."

I knew one that, when he wrote a letter, he would put that which was most material in the postscript, as if it had been a bye matter. I knew another that, when he came to have fpeech, he would pais over that that he intended most; and go forth, and come back again, and speak of it as of a thing that he had almost forgot.

Some procure themselves to be surprised at such times as it is like the party, that they work upon, will suddenly come upon them, and to be found with a letter in their hand, or doing somewhat which they are not accustomed, to the end they may be apposed of those things which of themselves they are desirous to utter:

It is a point of cunning to let fall those words in a man's own name which he would have another man learn and use, and thereupon take advantage. I knew two that were competitors for the secretary's place in queen Elizabeth's time, and yet kept good quarter between themselves, and would confer one with another upon the business; and the one of them said, that to be a secretary in the declination of a monarchy was a ticklish thing, and that he did not affect it: the other straight caught up those words, and discoursed with divers of his friends, that he had no reason to

defire to be fecretary in the declination of a monarchy. The first man took hold of it, and found means it was told the queen; who, hearing of a declination of a monarchy, took it so ill, as she would never after hear of the other's suit.

There is a cunning which we in England call "The turning of the cat in the pan;" which is, when that which a man fays to another, he lays it as if another had faid it to him; and to fay truth, it is not easy, when such a matter passed between two, to make it appear from which of them it first moved and began.

It is a way that fome men have to glance and dart at others by justifying themselves by negatives; as to say, "This I do not;" as Tigellinus did towards Burrhus, "se non diversas "spes, sed incolumitatem imperatoris simpli-"citer spectare."

Some have in readiness so many tales and stories, as there is nothing they would infinuate, but they can wrap it into a tale; which serveth both to keep themselves more on guard, and to make others carry it with more pleafure.

It is a good point of cunning for a man to

shape the answer he would have in his own words and propositions; for it makes the other party stick the less.

It is strange how long some men will lie in wait to speak somewhat they desire to say; and how far about they will setch, and how many other matters they will beat over to come near it: it is a thing of great patience, but yet of much use.

A fudden, bold, and unexpected question doth many times surprise a man, and lay him open. Like to him, that, having changed his name, and walking in Paul's, another suddenly came behind him and called him by his true name, whereat straightways he looked back.

But these small wares and petty points of cunning are infinite, and it were a good deed to make a list of them; for that nothing doth more hurt in a state than that cunning men pass for wise.

But certainly fome there are that know the reforts and falls of business, that cannot fink into the main of it; like a house that bath convenient stairs and entries, but never a fair room: therefore you shall see them find out pretty looses in the conclusion, but are no ways

able to examine or debate matters; and yet commonly they take advantage of their inability, and would be thought wits of direction. Some build rather upon the abusing of others, and, (as we now fay,) putting tricks upon them, than upon foundness of their own proceedings: but Solomon faith, "Prudens adwertit ad greffus such fultus divertit ad dolos."

OF WISDOM FOR A MAN'S SELF.

An ant is a wife creature for itself, but it is a shrewd thing in an orchard or garden; and, certainly, men that are great lovers of themselves waste the public. Divide with reason between self-love and society; and be so true to thyself, as thou be not false to others, especially to thy king and country. It is a poor centre of a man's actions, himself. It is right earth; for that only stands fast upon his own centre; whereas all things that have affinity with the heavens, move upon the centre of another which they benefit. The referring of

all to a man's felf, is more tolerable in a fovereign prince, because themselves are not only themselves, but their good and evil is at the peril of the public fortune: but it is a desperate evil in a fervant to a prince, or a citizen in a republic; for whatfoever affairs pass such a man's hands, he crooketh them to his own ends: which must needs be often eccentric to the ends of his mafter or flate: therefore let princes or states choose such servants as have not this mark; except they mean their fervice should be made but the accessary. That which maketh the effect more pernicious is, that all proportion is loft; it were disproportion enough for the servant's good, to be preferred before the master's; but yet it is a greater extreme, when a little good of the fervant shall carry things against a great good of the master's: and yet that is the case of bad officers, treafurers, ambaffadors, generals, and other false and corrupt fervants; which fet a bias upon their bowl of their own petty ends and envies, to the overthrow of their masters great and important affairs: and for the most part, the good fuch fervants receive is after the model of their own fortune; but the hurt they fell

for that good is after the model of their mafters fortune: and certainly it is the nature of extreme felf-lovers, as they will fet an house on fire, and it were but to roast their eggs; and yet these men many times hold credit with their masters, because their study is but to please them, and profit themselves; and for either respect they will abandon the good of their affairs.

Wisdom for a man's self is in many branches thereof a depraved thing: it is the wisdom of rats, that will be sure to leave a house somewhat before it fall: it is the wisdom of the fox, that thrusts out the badger, who digged and made room for him: it is the wisdom of crocodiles, that shed tears when they would devour. But that which is specially to be noted is, that those which, (as Cicero says of Pompey,) are, "sui amantes sine rivali," are many times unfortunate: and whereas they have all their time sacrificed to themselves, they become in the end themselves sacrifices to the inconstancy of fortune, whose wings they thought by their self-wisdom to have pinioned.

OF INNOVATIONS.

14 bents strails 2

As the births of living creatures at first are ill shapen, fo are all innovations, which are the births of time: yet, notwithstanding, as those that first bring honour into their family are commonly more worthy than most that succeed, fo the first precedent, (if it be good,) is feldom attained by imitation; for ill, to man's nature as it stands perverted, hath a natural motion ftrongest in continuance; but good, as a forced motion, ftrongest at first. Surely every medicine is an innovation, and he that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils; for time is the greatest innovator: and if time of course alter things to the worse, and wifdom and counfel shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the end? It is true, that what is fettled by custom, though it be not good, yet at leaft it is fit: and those things which have long gone together, are, as it were, confederate within themselves; whereas new things piece not fo well; but, though they help by their utility, yet they trouble by their inconformity: befides, they are like ftrangers,

more admired, and less favoured. All this is true if time flood still; which contrariwise moveth fo round, that a froward retention of custom is as turbulent a thing as an innovation; and they that reverence too much old times are but a fcorn to the new. It were good, therefore, that men in their innovations would follow the example of time itself, which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly and by degrees scarce to be perceived; for otherwise, whatfoever is new is unlooked for; and ever it mends fome, and pairs others: and he that is holpen takes it for a fortune, and thanks the time; and he that is hurt for a wrong, and imputeth it to the author. It is good also not to try experiments in flates, except the neceffity be urgent, or the utility evident; and well to beware that it be the reformation that draweth on the change, and not the defire of change that pretendeth the reformation; and, laftly, that the novelty, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a suspect; and, as the scripture faith, "That we make a stand upon "the ancient way, and then look about us, " and discover what is the straight and right " way, and fo to walk in it."

WELLAND AND THE PARTY OF THE PA

OF DISPATCH.

AFFECTED dispatch is one of the most dangerous things to bufiness that can be: it is like that which the phyficians call predigeftion, or hafty digeftion; which is fure to fill the body full of crudities, and fecrete feeds of difeases: therefore measure not dispatch by the times of fitting, but by the advancement of the business: and as, in races, it is not the large stride, or high lift, that makes the speed; fo, in bufiness, the keeping close to the matter, and not taking of it too much at once, procureth dispatch. It is the care of some only to come off speedily for the time, or to contrive some false periods of business, because they may feem men of dispatch: but it is one thing to abbreviate by contracting, another by cutting off; and bufiness so handled at several fittings or meetings goeth commonly backward and forward in an unfteady manner. I knew a wife man that had it for a by-word, when he saw men hasten to a conclusion, "Stay "a little, that we may make an end the fooner."

On the other fide, true dispatch is a rich thing; for time is the measure of business, as money is of wares; and business is bought at a dear hand where there is small dispatch. The Spartans and Spaniards have been noted to be of small dispatch, "Mi venga la muerte "de Spagna;" "Let my death come from "Spain;" for then it will be sure to be long in coming.

Give good hearing to those that give the first information in business, and rather direct them in the beginning, than interrupt them in the continuance of their speeches; for he that is put out of his own order will go forward and backward, and be more tedious while he waits upon his memory, than he could have been if he had gone on in his own course: but sometimes it is seen, that the moderator is more troublesome than the actor.

Iterations are commonly loss of time: but there is no fuch gain of time as to iterate often the ftate of the question; for it chaseth away many a frivolous speech as it is coming forth. Long and curious speeches are as fit for dispatch as a robe or mantle with a long train is for race. Prefaces, and passages, and excusations, and other speeches of reference to the person are great wastes of time; and though they seem to proceed of modesty, they are bravery. Yet beware of being too material when there is any impediment or obstruction in men's wills; for preoccupation of mind ever requireth preface of speech, like a fomentation to make the unguent enter.

Above all things, order, and distribution. and fingling out of parts is the life of dispatch; fo as the diffribution be not too fubtile: for he that doth not divide will never enter well into business; and he that divideth too much will never come out of it clearly. To choose time is to fave time; and an unfeafonable motion is but beating the air. There be three parts of business, the preparation, the debate or examination, and the perfection; whereof, if you look for dispatch, let the middle only be the work of many, and the first and last the work of few. The proceeding upon fomewhat conceived in writing doth for the most part facilitate dispatch; for though it should be wholly rejected, yet that negative is more pregnant of direction than an indefinite, as ashes are more generative than dust.

OF SEEMING WISE.

Latel Wyongs

IT hath been an opinion that the French are wifer than they feem, and the Spaniards feem wifer than they are: but howfoever it be between nations, certainly it is fo between man and man; for as the apostle faith of godliness, " Having a flew of godliness, but denying the " power thereof;" fo certainly there are in points of wisdom and sufficiency, that do nothing or little very folemnly; " magno conatu " nugas." It is a ridiculous thing, and fit for a fatire to persons of judgment, to see what shifts these formalists have, and what prospectives to make fuperficies to feem body that hath depth and bulk. Some are so close and referved as they will not shew their wares but by a dark light, and feem always to keep back fomewhat; and when they know within themfelves they fpeak of that they do not well know, would nevertheless seem to others to know of that which they may not well speak. Some help themselves with countenance and gesture, and are wife by signs; as Cicero saith

of Pifo, that when he answered him, he fetched one of his brows up to his forehead, and bent the other down to his chin; "respondes, " altero ad frontem fublato, altero ad mentum "depresso supercilio, crudelitatem tibi non " placere." Some think to bear it by fpeaking a great word, and being peremptory; and go on, and take by admittance that which they cannot make good. Some, whatfoever is bevond their reach, will feem to despise or make light of it as impertinent or curious; and fo would have their ignorance feem judgment. Some are never without a difference, and commonly by amufing men with a fubtilty, blanch the matter; of whom A. Gellius faith, "ho-" minem delirum, qui verborum minutiis re-"rum frangit pondera." Of which kind also Plato in his Protagoras bringeth in Prodicus in fcorn, and maketh him make a speech that confifteth of diffinctions from the beginning to the end. Generally fuch men in all deliberations find ease to be of the negative fide, and affect a credit to object, and foretell difficulties: for when propositions are denied, there is an end of them; but if they be allowed, it requireth a new work; which false point

of wisdom is the bane of business. To conclude, there is no decaying merchant, or inward beggar, hath so many tricks to uphold the credit of their wealth as these empty persons have to maintain the credit of their sufficiency. Seeming wise men may make shift to get opinion; but let no man choose them for employment; for, certainly, you were better take for business a man somewhat absurd, than over-formal.

OF FRIENDSHIP.

It had been hard for him that spake it, to have put more truth and untruth together in sew words, than in that speech, "Whosoever is delighted in solitude is either a wild beast or a god;" for it is most true, that a natural and secret hatred and aversasion towards society in any man, hath somewhat of the savage beast; but it is most untrue, that it should have any character at all of the divine nature, except it proceed, not out of a pleasure in solitude, but out of a love and desire to sequester a man's self for a higher conversation: such as

is found to have been falfely and feignedly in some of the heathen; as Epimenides the Candian, Numa the Roman, Empedocles the Sicilian, and Apollonius of Tyana; and truly and really in divers of the ancient hermits, and holy fathers of the church. But little do men perceive what folitude is, and how far it extendeth; for a crowd is not company, and faces are but a gallery of pictures, and talk but a tinkling cymbal where there is no love. The Latin adage meeteth with it a little; " magna "civitas, magna folitudo;" because in a great town friends are feattered, fo that there is not that fellowship, for the most part, which is in less neighbourhoods: but we may go farther, and affirm most truly, that it is a mere and miserable solitude to want true friends, without which the world is but a wilderness; and even in this fense also of solitude, whosoever in the frame of his nature and affections is unfit for friendship, he taketh it of the beast, and not from humanity.

A principal fruit of friendship is the ease and discharge of the fulness of the heart, which passions of all kinds do cause and induce. We know diseases of stoppings and fuffocations are the most dangerous in the body; and it is not much otherwise in the mind: you may take sarza to open the liver, steel to open the spleen, slower of sulphur for the lungs, castoreum for the brain; but no receipt openeth the heart but a true friend, to whom you may impart griefs, joys, sears, hopes, suspicions, counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the heart to oppress it, in a kind of civil shrift or confession.

It is a ftrange thing to observe how high a rate great kings and monarchs do fet upon this fruit of friendship whereof we speak; so great as they purchase it many times at the hazard of their own fafety and greatness: for princes, in regard of the distance of their fortune from that of their subjects and servants, cannot gather this fruit, except, (to make themselves capable thereof,) they raise some persons to be as it were companions and almost equals to themselves, which many times forteth to inconvenience. The modern languages give unto fuch perfons the name of favourites, or privadoes, as if it were matter of grace or conversation; but the Roman name attaineth the true use and cause thereof, naming them

" participes curarum;" for it is that which tieth the knot: and we fee plainly that this hath been done, not by weak and passionate princes only, but by the wisest and most politic that ever reigned, who have oftentimes joined to themselves some of their servants, whom both themselves have called friends, and allowed others likewise to call them in the same manner, using the word which is received between private men.

L. Sylla, when he commanded Rome, raifed Pompey, (after furnamed the great,) to that height, that Pompey vaunted himself for Sylla's over-match; for when he had carried the consulship for a friend of his against the pursuit of Sylla, and that Sylla did a little refent thereat, and began to speak great, Pompey turned upon him again, and in effect bade him be quiet; for that more men adored the fun rifing than the fun fetting. With Julius Cæfar Decimus Brutus had obtained that interest as he set him down in his testament for heir in remainder after his nephew; and this was the man that had power with him to draw him forth to his death; for when Cæfar would have discharged the senate in-regard of some

ill presages, and specially a dream of Calpurnia, this man lifted him gently by the arm out of his chair, telling him he hoped he would not difmifs the fenate till his wife had dreamed a better dream; and it seemeth his favour was fo great, as Antonius, in a letter which is recited verbatim in one of Cicero's Philippics, called him "venefica," "witch;" as if he had enchanted Cæfar. Augustus raised Agrippa, (though of mean birth,) to that height, as, when he confulted with Mecænas about the marriage of his daughter Julia, Mecænas took the liberty to tell him, that he must either marry his daughter to Agrippa, or take away his life; there was no third way, he had made him fo great. With Tiberius Cæfar Sejanus had ascended to that height as they two were termed and reckoned as a pair of friends. Tiberius, in a letter to him faith, "hæc pro amicitia nostra non occultavi;" and the whole fenate dedicated an altar to friendfhip, as to a goddess, in respect of the great dearness of friendship between them two. The like, or more, was between Septimius Severus and Plautianus; for he forced his eldest fon to marry the daughter of Plautianus,

and would often maintain Plautianus in doing affronts to his fon; and did write also in a letter to the fenate by these words, "I love "the man fo well, as I wish he may over-live "me." Now, if these princes had been as a Trajan, or a Marcus Aurelius, a man might have thought that this had proceeded of an abundant goodness of nature; but being men so wise, of such strength and severity of mind. and fo extreme lovers of themselves, as all these were, it proveth most plainly that they found their own felicity, (though as great as ever happened to mortal men,) but as an half piece, except they might have a friend to make it entire; and yet, which is more, they were princes that had wives, fons, nephews; and yet all these could not supply the comfort of friendship.

It is not to be forgotten what Commineus observeth of his first master, duke Charles the Hardy, namely, that he would communicate his secrets with none; and least of all, those secrets which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on, and saith, that towards his latter time that closeness did impair and a little perish his understanding. Surely Commineus

might have made the same judgment also, if it had pleafed him, of his fecond mafter, Lewis the eleventh, whose closeness was indeed his tormentor. The parable of Pythagoras is dark, but true; "cor ne edito," "eat not the heart." Certainly, if a man would give it a hard phrase, those that want friends to open themselves unto, are cannibals of their own hearts: but one thing is most admirable, (wherewith I will conclude this first fruit of friendship,) which is, that this communicating of a man's felf to his friend works two contrary effects, for it redoubleth joys, and cutteth griefs in halfs; for there is no man that imparteth his joys to his friend, but he joyeth the more; fo no man that imparteth his griefs to his friend, but he grieveth the less. So that, it is in truth, of operation upon a man's mind of like virtue as the alchymists use to attribute to their stone for man's body, that it worketh all contrary effects, but still to the good and benefit of nature: but yet, without praying in aid of alchymists, there is a manifest image of this in the ordinary course of nature; for in bodies union ftrengtheneth and cherisheth any natural action; and, on the other fide, weakeneth

and dulleth any violent impression; and even so is it of minds.

The fecond fruit of friendship is healthful and fovereign for the understanding as the first is for the affections; for friendship maketh indeed a fair day in the affections from from and tempests, but it maketh daylight in the understanding out of darkness and confusion of thoughts: neither is this to be understood only of faithful counsel, which a man receiveth from his friend; but before you come to that, certain it is, that whofoever hath his mind fraught with many thoughts, his wits and understanding do clarify and break up in the communicating and discoursing with another; he toffeth his thoughts more eafily; he marshalleth them more orderly; he feeth how they look when they are turned into words; finally, he waxeth wifer than himfelf; and that more by an hour's discourse than by a day's meditation. It was well faid by Themistocles to the king of Persia, "That speech "was like cloth of Arras, opened and put "abroad:" whereby the imagery doth appear in figure; whereas in thoughts they lie but as in packs. Neither is this fecond fruit of friendfhip in opening the understanding, restrained only to such friends as are able to give a man counsel, (they indeed are best,) but even without that a man learneth of himself, and bringeth his own thoughts to light, and whetteth his wits as against a stone which itself cuts not. In a word, a man were better relate himself to a statue or picture, than to suffer his thoughts to pass in smother.

Add now, to make this fecond fruit of friendship complete, that other point which lieth more open and falleth within vulgar observation; which is faithful counsel from a friend. Heraclitus faith well in one of his enigmas, "Dry light is ever the best:" and certain it is, that the light that a man receiveth by counsel from another is drier and purer than that which cometh from his own understanding and judgment; which is ever infused and drenched in his affections and customs. So as there is as much difference between the counfel that a friend giveth, and that a man giveth himself, as there is between the counsel of a friend and of a flatterer; for there is no fuch flatterer as is a man's felf, and there is no fuch remedy against flattery of a man's self as the

liberty of a friend. Counsel is of two forts; the one concerning manners, the other concerning bufiness: for the first, the best prefervative to keep the mind in health is the faithful admonition of a friend. The calling of a man's felf to a strict account is a medicine fometime too piercing and corrofive; reading good books of morality is a little flat and dead; observing our faults in others is fometimes improper for our case; but the best receipt, (best I say to work, and best to take,) is the admonition of a friend. It is a strange thing to behold what gross errors and extreme abfurdities many, (especially of the greater fort,) do commit for want of a friend to tell them of them, to the great damage both of their fame and fortune; for, as St. James faith, they are as men "that look fometimes into " a glass and presently forget their own shape "and favour:" as for bufiness, a man may think, if he will, that two eyes fee no more than one; or, that a gamester seeth always more than a looker on; or, that a man in anger is as wife as he that hath faid over the four and twenty letters; or, that a musket may be thot off as well upon the arm as upon

a rest; and such other fond and high imaginations to think himfelf all in all: but when all is done, the help of good counfel is that which fetteth business straight; and if any man think that he will take counsel, but it shall be by pieces; asking counsel in one business of one man, and in another business of another man; it is well, (that is to fay, better perhaps than if he asked none at all,) but he runneth two dangers; one, that he shall not be faithfully counselled; for it is a rare thing, except it be from a perfect and entire friend, to have counsel given, but such as shall be bowed and crooked to fome ends which he hath that giveth it: the other, that he shall have counsel given, hurtful and unsafe, (though with good meaning,) and mixt partly of mifchief and partly of remedy; even as if you would call a phyfician that is thought good for the cure of the disease you complain of, but is unacquainted with your body; and, therefore, may put you in a way for a present cure, but overthroweth your health in fome other kind, and so cure the disease and kill the patient: but a friend that is wholly acquainted with a man's estate, will beware, by

furthering any present business, how he daiheth upon other inconvenience; and, therefore, rest not upon scattered counsels; they will rather distract and mislead, than settle and direct.

After these two noble fruits of friendship, (peace in the affections, and support of the judgment,) followeth the last fruit, which is, like the pomegranate, full of many kernels; I mean aid and bearing a part in all actions and occasions. Here the best way to represent to life the manifold use of friendship, is to cast and fee how many things there are which a man cannot do himself; and then it will appear that it was a sparing speech of the ancients to fay, "that a friend is another him-" felf; for that a friend is far more than him-" felf." Men have their time, and die many times in defire of fome things which they principally take to heart; the bestowing of a child, the finishing of a work, or the like. If a man have a true friend he may rest almost fecure that the care of those things will continue after him; fo that a man hath, as it were, two lives in his defires. A man hath a body, and that body is confined to a place; but

where friendship is, all offices of life are. as it were, granted to him and his deputy; for he may exercise them by his friend. How many things are there which a man cannot with any face or comeliness say or do himself? A man can fcarce alledge his own merits with modefty, much less extol them; a man cannot fometimes brook to supplicate or beg; and a number of the like: but all these things are graceful in a friend's mouth, which are blufhing in a man's own. So again, a man's person hath many proper relations which he cannot put off. A man cannot speak to his fon but as a father; to his wife but as a husband; to his enemy but upon terms: whereas a friend may speak as the case requires, and not as it forteth to the person: but to enumerate these things were endless; I have given the rule where a man cannot fitly play his own part; if he have not a friend he may quit the stage.

OF EXPENSE.

RICHES are for spending, and spending for honour and good actions; therefore extraordinary expense must be limited by the worth of the occasion: for voluntary undoing may be as well for a man's country as for the kingdom of heaven; but ordinary expense ought to be limited by a man's eftate, and governed with fuch regard as it be within his compass; and not subject to deceit and abuse of servants; and ordered to the best shew, that the bills may be less than the estimation abroad. Certainly, if a man will keep but of even hand, his ordinary expenses ought to be but to the half of his receipts; and if he think to wax rich, but to the third part. It is no baseness for the greatest to descend and look into their own estate. Some forbear it, not upon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselves into melancholy, in respect they shall find it broken: but wounds cannot be cured without fearching. He that cannot look into his own estate at all had need both choose well those whom he

employeth, and change them often; for new are more timorous and lefs fubtile. He that can look into his estate but seldom, it behoveth him to turn all to certainties. A man had need, if he be plentiful in some kind of expense, to be as faving again in some other: as if he be plentiful in diet, to be faving in apparel; if he be plentiful in the hall, to be faving in the stable, and the like: for he that is plentiful in expenses of all kinds will hardly be preferved from decay. In clearing of a man's estate he may as well hurt himself in being too fudden, as in letting it run on too long; for hafty felling is commonly as difadvantageable as interest. Besides, he that clears at once will relapse; for, finding himself out of straits he will revert to his customs: but he that cleareth by degrees induceth a habit of frugality, and gaineth as well upon his mind as upon his estate. Certainly, who hath a state to repair may not despise small things; and, commonly, it is less dishonourable to abridge petty charges than to stoop to petty gettings. A man ought warily to begin charges, which once begun will continue; but in matters that return not he may be more magnificent.

OF THE TRUE GREATNESS OF KINGDOMS AND ESTATES.

THE speech of Themistocles the Athenian, which was haughty and arrogant in taking fo much to himself, had been a grave and wife observation and censure, applied at large to others. Defired at a feast to touch a lute, he faid, "he could not fiddle, but yet he could "make a fmall town a great city." These words, (holpen a little with a metaphor,) may express two differing abilities in those that deal in business of estate; for, if a true survey be taken of counfellors and statesmen, there may be found, (though rarely,) those which can make a small state great, and yet cannot fiddle: as, on the other fide, there will be found a great many that can fiddle very cunningly, but yet are fo far from being able to make a small state great, as their gift lieth the other way; to bring a great and flourishing estate to ruin and decay: and, certainly, those degenerate arts and shifts, whereby many counsellors and governors gain both favour with their mafters and estimation with the vulgar, deserve no better name than fiddling; being things rather pleafing for the time, and graceful to themselves only, than tending to the weal and advancement of the state which they ferve. There are also, (no doubt,) counfellors and governors which may be held fufficient, "negotiis pares," able to manage affairs, and to keep them from precipices and manifest inconveniences; which, nevertheless, are far from the ability to raise and amplify an estate in power, means, and fortune: but be the workmen what they may be, let us fpeak of the work; that is, the true greatness of kingdoms and estates; and the means thereof. An argument fit for great and mighty princes to have in their hand; to the end, that neither by over-measuring their forces they lose them. felves in vain enterprises; nor, on the other fide, by undervaluing them they descend to fearful and pufillanimous counfels.

The greatness of an estate in bulk and territory doth fall under measure; and the greatness of finances and revenue doth fall under computation. The population may appear by musters; and the number and greatness of cities and towns by cards and maps: but yet there is not any thing, amongst civil affairs, more subject to error than the right valuation and true judgment concerning the power and forces of an estate. The kingdom of heaven is compared, not to any great kernel or nut but, to a grain of mustard seed; which is one of the least grains, but hath in it a property and spirit hastily to get up and spread. So are there states great in territory, and yet not apt to enlarge or command; and some that have but a small dimension of stem, and yet apt to be the soundations of great monarchies.

Walled towns, stored arsenals and armories, goodly races of horse, chariots of war, elephants, ordnance, artillery, and the like; all this is but a sheep in a lion's skin, except the breed and disposition of the people be stout and warlike. Nay, number (itself) in armies importeth not much, where the people is of weak courage; for, as Virgil faith, "It never troubles a wolf how many the sheep be." The army of the Persians, in the plains of Arbela was such a vast sea of people as it did somewhat astonish the commanders in Alexander's

army, who came to him therefore, and wished him to fet upon them by night; but he anfwered, he would not pilfer the victory; and the defeat was easy. When Tigranes the Armenian, being encamped upon a hill with four hundred thousand men, discovered the army of the Romans, being not above fourteen thousand marching towards him, he made himfelf merry with it, and faid, "Yonder men are " too many for an ambaffage, and too few for "a fight:" but before the fun fet he found them enow to give him the chase with infinite flaughter. Many are the examples of the great odds between number and courage: fo that a man may truly make a judgment, that the principal point of greatness in any state, is to have a race of military men. Neither is money the finews of war, (as it is trivially faid.) where the finews of men's arms in base and effeminate people are failing; for Solon faid well to Cræsus, (when in oftentation he shewed him his gold,) "Sir, if any other come "that hath better iron than you, he will be " master of all this gold." Therefore let any prince or state think soberly of his forces, except his militia of natives be of good and

valiant foldiers; and let princes, on the other fide, that have subjects of martial disposition, know their own strength, unless they be otherwise wanting unto themselves. As for mercenary forces, (which is the help in this case,) all examples shew that, whatsoever estate or prince doth rest upon them, he may spread his feathers for a time, but he will mew them soon after.

The bleffing of Judah and Isfachar will never meet; that the fame people or nation should be both the lion's whelp, and the ass between burdens: neither will it be, that a people overlaid with taxes should ever become valiant and martial. It is true that taxes, levied by confent of the estate, do abate men's courage less; as it hath been seen notably in the exercises of the Low Countries; and, in fome degree, in the subsidies of England: for you must note that we speak now of the heart, and not of the purse; so that, although the fame tribute and tax, laid by confent or by imposing, be all one to the purse, yet it works diverfely upon the courage. So that you may conclude, that no people overcharged with tribute is fit for empire.

Let flates that aim at greatness take heed how their nobility and gentlemen do multiply too fast: for that maketh the common subject grow to be a peafant and base swain, driven out of heart, and, in effect, but a gentleman's labourer. Even as you may fee in coppice woods; if you leave your staddles too thick, you shall never have clean underwood, but thrubs and buthes. So in countries, if the gentlemen be too many, the commons will be base; and you will bring it to that, that not the hundred poll will be fit for an helmet; especially as to the infantry, which is the nerve of an army: and fo there will be great population and little strength. This which I speak of hath been no where better seen than by comparing of England and France; whereof England, though far less in territory and population, hath been, (nevertheless,) an overmatch; in regard the middle people of England make good foldiers, which the peafants of France do not: and herein the device of king Henry the feventh, (whereof I have fpoken largely in the history of his life,) was profound and admirable; in making farms and houses of husbandry of a standard; that is,

maintained with such a proportion of land unto them as may breed a subject to live in convenient plenty, and no servile condition; and to keep the plough in the hands of the owners, and not mere hirelings: and thus indeed you shall attain to Virgil's character which he gives to ancient Italy:

"Terra potens armis atque ubere glebæ."

Neither is that state, (which, for any thing I know, is almost peculiar to England, and hardly to be found any where else, except it be perhaps in Poland, to be passed over; I mean the state of free servants and attendants upon noblemen and gentlemen, which are no ways inferior unto the yeomanry for arms; and therefore, out of all question, the splendour and magnificence, and great retinues, and hospitality of noblemen and gentlemen received into custom, do much conduce unto martial greatness: whereas, contrariwise, the close and referved living of noblemen and gentlemen causeth a penury of military forces.

By all means it is to be procured, that the trunk of Nebuchadnezzar's tree of monarchy be great enough to bear the branches and the boughs; that is, that the natural subjects of the crown or state bear a sufficient proportion to the stranger subjects that they govern; therefore all states that are liberal of naturalization towards strangers are fit for empire: for to think that an handful of people can, with the greatest courage and policy in the world, embrace too large extent of dominion, it may hold for a time, but it will fail fuddenly. The Spartans were a nice people in point of naturalization; whereby, while they kept their compass, they stood firm; but when they did fpread, and their boughs were become too great for their stem, they became a windfall upon the fudden. Never any state was, in this point, fo open to receive strangers into their body as were the Romans; therefore it forted with them accordingly, for they grew to the greatest monarchy. Their manner was to grant naturalization, (which they called, "jus civitatis.") and to grant it in the highest degree, that is, not only "jus commercii, jus "connubii, jus hæreditatis;" but also, "jus "fuffragii, and jus honorum;" and this not to fingular persons alone, but likewise to whole families; yea, to cities, and fometimes to na-

tions. Add to this, their custom of plantation of colonies, whereby the Roman plant was removed into the foil of other nations; and. putting both constitutions together, you will fay, that it was not the Romans that foread upon the world, but it was the world that spread upon the Romans; and that was the fure way of greatness. I have marvelled fometimes at Spain, how they clasp and contain fo large dominions with fo few natural Spaniards: but fure the whole compass of Spain is a very great body of a tree, far above Rome and Sparta at the first; and, befides, though they have not had that usage to naturalize liberally, yet they have that which is next to it; that is, to employ, almost indifferently, all nations in their militia of ordinary foldiers; yea, and fometimes in their highest commands: nay, it feemeth at this inftant, they are fensible of this want of natives; as by the pragmatical fanction, now published, appeareth.

arts, and delicate manufactures, (that require rather the finger than the arm,) have in their nature a contrariety to a military disposition;

and generally all warlike people are a little idle, and love danger better than travail; neither must they be too much broken of hit; if they shall be preserved in vigour: therefore it was great advantage in the ancient states of Sparta, Athens, Rome, and others, that they had the use of flaves, which commonly did rid those manufactures; but that is abolished; in greatest part, by the christian law. That which cometh nearest to it is, to leave those arts chiefly to strangers, (which for that purpose are the more easily to be received,) and to contain the principal bulk of the vulgar natives within those three kinds, tillers of the ground, free fervants, and handicraftimen of ftrong and manly arts; as fmiths, masons, carpenters, &c. not reckoning professed foldiers. (1.5) 1533

But, above all, for empire and greatness it importeth most, that a nation do profess arms as their principal honour, study, and occupation; for the things which we formerly have spoken of are but habilitations towards arms; and what is habilitation without intention and act? Romulus, after his death, (as they report or feign,) sent a present to the Romans, that

above all they should intend arms, and then they should prove the greatest empire of the world. The fabric of the state of Sparta was wholly, (though not wifely,) framed and composed to that scope and end; the Persians and Macedonians had it for a flash; the Gauls, Germans, Goths, Saxons, Normans, and others had it for a time; the Turks have it at this day, though in great declination. Of Christian Europe they that have it are, in effect, only the Spaniards: but it is fo plain, that every man profiteth in that he most intendeth, that it needeth not to be flood upon: it is enough to point at it; that no nation which doth not directly profess arms, may look to have greatness fall into their mouths: and, on the other fide, it is a most certain oracle of time, that those states that continue long in that profession, (as the Romans and Turks principally have done,) do wonders; and those that have professed arms but for an age have, notwithstanding, commonly attained that greatness in that age which maintained them long after, when their profession and exercife of arms hath grown to decay.

Incident to this point is for a state to have

those laws or customs which may reach forth unto them just occasions, (as may be pretended,) of war; for there is that justice imprinted in the nature of men, that they enter not upon wars, (whereof fo many calamities do enfue,) but upon fome, at the least specious, grounds and quarrels. The Turk hath at hand, for cause of war, the propagation of his law or fect, a quarrel that he may always command. The Romans, though they esteemed the extending the limits of their empire to be great honour to their generals when it was done. yet they never rested upon that alone to begin a war: first, therefore, let nations that pretend to greatness have this, that they be sensible of wrongs, either upon borderers, merchants, or politic ministers; and that they fit not too long upon a provocation: fecondly, let them be pressed and ready to give aids and succours to their confederates; as it ever was with the Romans; infomuch, as if the confederates had leagues defensive with divers other states, and upon invasion offered did implore their aids feverally, yet the Romans would ever be the foremost, and leave it to none other to have the honour. As for the wars, which were

anciently made on the behalf of a kind of party, or tacite conformity of estate, I do not see how they may be well justified: as when the Romans made a war for the liberty of Græcia; or, when the Lacedæmonians and Athenians made wars to set up or pull down democracies and oligarchies; or, when wars were made by foreigners under the pretence of justice or protection, to deliver the subjects of others from tyranny and oppression, and the like. Let it suffice, that no estate expect to be great that is not awake upon any just occasion of arming.

No body can be healthful without exercife, neither natural body nor politic: and, certainly, to a kingdom or effate a just and honourable war is the true exercise. A civil war, indeed, is like the heat of a sever; but a foreign war is like the heat of exercise, and serveth to keep the body in health; for in a slothful peace both courages will esseminate, and manners corrupt: but howsoever it be for happiness, without all question for greatness, it maketh to be still for the most part in arms; and the strength of a veteran army, (though it be a chargeable business,) always on foot, is

that which commonly giveth the law; or, at least, the reputation amongst all neighbour states, as may well be seen in Spain; which hath had, in one part or other, a veteran army almost continually, now by the space of six-score years.

To be mafter of the fea is an abridgment of a monarchy. Cicero, writing to Atticus of Pompey his preparation against Cæsar, faith, "Confilium Pompeii plane Themistocleum est; " putat enim, qui mari potitur, eum rerum " potiri:" and, without doubt, Pompey had tired out Cæsar, if upon vain confidence he had not left that way. We fee the great effects of battles by fea: the battle of Actium decided the empire of the world; the battle of Lepanto arrested the greatness of the Turk. There be many examples where fea fights have been final to the war; but this is when princes or flates have fet up their rest upon the battles: but thus much is certain, that he that commands the fea is at great liberty, and may take as much and as little of the war as he will; whereas those that be strongest by land are many times, nevertheless, in great straits. Surely, at this day, with us of Europe the

vantage of strength at sea, (which is one of the principal dowries of this kingdom of Great Britain,) is great; both because most of the kingdoms of Europe are not merely inland, but girt with the sea most part of their compass; and because the wealth of both Indies seems in great part but an accessary to the command of the seas.

The wars of latter ages feem to be made in the dark in respect of the glory and honour which reflected upon men from the wars in ancient time. There be now, for martial encouragement, fome degrees and orders of chivalry, which, nevertheless, are conferred promifcuoufly upon foldiers and no foldiers, and fome remembrance perhaps upon the efcutcheon, and fome hospitals for maimed foldiers, and fuch like things: but in ancient times the trophies erected upon the place of the victory; the funeral laudatives and monuments for those that died in the wars; the crowns and garlands personal; the style of emperor, which the great kings of the world after borrowed; the triumphs of the generals upon their return; the great donatives and largeffes upon the difbanding of the armies, were things able to enflame

all men's courages; but above all, that of the triumph amongst the Romans was not pageants or gaudery, but one of the wifeft and nobleft inflitutions that ever was; for it contained three things, honour to the general; riches to the treasury out of the spoils; and donatives to the army: but that honour, perhaps, were not fit for monarchies; except it be in the person of the monarch himself, or his sons; as it came to pass in the times of the Roman emperors, who did impropriate the actual triumphs to themselves and their sons for such wars as they did achieve in person; and left only for wars achieved by subjects some triumphal garments and enfigns to the general.

To conclude: no man can by care taking, (as the scripture faith,) "add a cubit to his "stature," in this little model of a man's body; but in the great frame of kingdoms and commonwealths it is in the power of princes or estates to add amplitude and greatness to their kingdoms; for by introducing such ordinances, constitutions, and customs, as we have now touched, they may sow greatness to their posterity and succession: but these things are

commonly not observed, but left to take their chance.

independence of the contraction of

OF REGIMEN OF HEALTH.

THERE is a wisdom in this beyond the rules of physie: a man's own observation what he finds good of, and what he finds hurt of, is the best physic to preserve health; but it is a fafer conclusion to fay, "This agreeth not well "with me, therefore I will not continue it;" than this, "I find no offence of this, therefore "I may use it:" for strength of nature in youth passeth over many excesses which are owing a man till his age. Discern of the coming on of years, and think not to do the fame things still; for age will not be defied. Beware of fudden change in any great point of diet. and if necessity enforce it, fit the rest to it; for it is a fecret both in nature and state, that it is fafer to change many things than one. Examine thy customs of diet, sleep, exercise, apparel, and the like; and try in any thing thou shalt judge hurtful, to discontinue it by little and little; but fo, as if thou dost find

any inconvenience by the change, thou come back to it again; for it is hard to distinguish that, which is generally held good and wholefome, from that, which is good particularly, and fit for thine own body. To be freeminded and cheerfully disposed at hours of meat, and of fleep, and of exercise is one of the best precepts of long lasting. As for the passions and studies of the mind, avoid envy, anxious fears, anger fretting inwards, subtile and knotty inquisitions, joys and exhibarations in excess, sadness not communicated. Entertain hopes, mirth rather than joy, variety of delights, rather than furfeit of them; wonder and admiration, and therefore novelties; studies that fill the mind with fplendid and illustrious objects, as histories, fables, and contemplations. of nature. If you fly physic in health altogether, it will be too firange for your body when you shall need it; if you make it too familiar, it will work no extraordinary effect when fickness cometh. I commend rather fome diet for certain feafons. than frequent use of physic, except it be grown into a custom; for those diets alter the body more, and trouble it less. Despise no new accident in

your body, but ask opinion of it. In sickness, respect health principally; and in health, action: for those that put their bodies to endure in health, may in most sicknesses which are not very sharp, be cured only with diet and tendering. Celfus could never have spoken it as a physician, had he not been a wife man withal, when he giveth it for one of the great precepts of health and lasting, that a man do vary and interchange contraries; but with an inclination to the more benign extreme: use fasting and full eating, but rather full eating; watching and fleep, but rather fleep; fitting and exercise, but rather exercise, and the like: fo shall nature be cherished, and yet taught masteries. Physicians are some of them so pleafing and conformable to the humour of the patient, as they press not the true cure of the disease; and some other are so regular in proceeding according to art for the disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the patient. Take one of a middle temper; or, if it may not be found in one man, combine. two of either fort; and forget not to call as well the best acquainted with your body, as the best reputed of for his faculty.

100 1 49 111 - 70 74

2111 1015

OF SUSPICION.

Suspicions amongst thoughts are like bats amongst birds, they ever fly by twilight: certainly they are to be repressed, or, at the least, well guarded; for they cloud the mind, they lofe friends, and they check with business, whereby bufiness cannot go on currently and constantly: they dispose kings to tyranny, husbands to jealoufy, wife men to irrefolution and melancholy: they are defects, not in the heart but in the brain; for they take place in the stoutest natures; as in the example of Henry the feventh of England; there was not a more fuspicious man nor a more stout: and in such a composition they do small hurt; for commonly they are not admitted but with examination, whether they be likely or no? but in fearful natures they gain ground too fast. There is nothing makes a man fuspect much, more than to know little; and, therefore, men fhould remedy fuspicion by procuring to know more, and not to keep their fuspicions in smother. What would men have? do they think

those they employ and deal with are faints? do they not think they will have their own ends, and be truer to themselves than to them? therefore there is no better way to moderate fuspicions, than to account upon such suspicions as true, and yet to bridle them as false: for fo far a man ought to make use of suspicions as to provide, as if that should be true that he fuspects, yet it may do him no hurt. Suspicions that the mind of itself gathers are but buzzes; but fuspicions that are artificially nourished, and put into men's heads by the tales and whisperings of others, have stings. Certainly, the best mean to clear the way in this fame wood of suspicions, is frankly to communicate them with the party that he suspects; for thereby he shall be sure to know more of the truth of them than he did before; and withal fhall make that party more circumspect not to give farther cause of suspicion: but this would not be done to men of base natures; for they, if they find themselves once suspected, will never be true. The Italian fays, "Sospetto licentia fede;" as if suspicion did give a passport to faith; but it ought rather to kindle it to discharge itself.

-- -- 10

shere le constante

OF DISCOURSE.

Some in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit, in being able to hold all arguments, than of judgment, in difcerning what is true; as if it were a praise to know what might be faid, and not what should be thought. Some have certain common places and themes, wherein they are good, and want variety; which kind of poverty is for the most part tedious, and, when it is once perceived, ridiculous. The honourablest part of talk is to give the occasion; and again to moderate and pass to somewhat else, for then a man leads the dance. It is good in discourse, and speech of conversation, to vary and intermingle speech of the present occasion with arguments, tales with reasons, asking of questions with telling of opinions, and jest with earnest; for it is a dull thing to tire, and, as we say now, to jade any thing too far. As for jest, there be certain things which ought to be privileged from it; namely, religion, matters of state, great persons, any man's present business of importance, and any case that deserveth pity; yet there be some that think their wits have been asseep, except they dart out somewhat that is piquant, and to the quick: that is a vein which would be bridled;

" Parce puer stimulis, et fortius utere loris."

And, generally, men ought to find the difference between faltness and bitterness. Certainly, he that hath a fatirical vein, as he maketh others afraid of his wit, fo he had need be afraid of other's memory. He that questioneth much shall learn much, and content much; but especially if he apply his questions to the skill of the persons whom he asketh; for he shall give them occasion to please themselves in speaking, and himself shall continually gather knowledge: but let his questions not be troublesome, for that is fit for a pofer; and let him be fure to leave other men their turns to speak: nay, if there be any that would reign and take up all the time, let him find means to take them off, and bring others on; as muficians use to do with those that dance too long galliards. If you diffemble fometimes your knowledge of

that you are thought to know, you shall be thought another time to know that you know not. Speech of a man's felf ought to be feldom, and well chosen. I knew one was wont to fav in fcorn, "He must needs be a wife man, "he speaks so much of himself:" and there is but one case wherein a man may commend himself with good grace, and that is in commending virtue in another; especially if it be fuch a virtue whereunto himself pretendeth. Speech of touch towards others should be fparingly used; for discourse ought to be as a field, without coming home to any man. I knew two noblemen of the west part of England, whereof the one was given to fcoff, but kept ever royal cheer in his house; the other would atk of those that had been at the other's table. "Tell truly, was there never a flout or "dry blow given?" to which the guest would answer, "Such and such a thing passed;" the lord would fay, "I thought he would mar a " good dinner." Discretion of speech is more than eloquence; and to speak agreeably to him with whom we deal, is more than to speak in good words, or in good order. A good continued speech without a good speech of

interlocution shews flowness; and a good reply, or second speech, without a good settled speech, sheweth shallowness and weakness. As we see in beasts, that those, that are weakest in the course, are yet nimblest in the turn; as it is betwixt the greyhound and the hare. To use too many circumstances ere one come to the matter is wearisome; to use none at all is blunt.

OF PLANTATIONS.

PLANTATIONS are amongst ancient, primitive, and heroical works. When the world was young it begat more children; but now it is old it begets fewer: for I may justly account new plantations to be the children of former kingdoms. I like a plantation in a pure foil; that is, where people are not displanted to the end to plant in others; for else it is rather an extirpation than a plantation. Planting of countries is like planting of woods; for you must make account to lose almost twenty years profit, and expect your recompense in the end: for the principal thing that hath been the

destruction of most plantations, hath been the base and hasty drawing of profit in the first years. It is true, speedy profit is not to be neglected as far as may stand with the good of the plantation, but no farther. It is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of people and wicked condemned men, to be the people with whom you plant; and not only fo, but it spoileth the plantation; for they will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do mischief, and spend victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certify over to their country to the discredit of the plantation. The people wherewith you plant ought to be gardeners, ploughmen, fmiths, carpenters, joiners, fishermen, fowlers, with fome few apothecaries, furgeons, cooks, and bakers. In a country of plantation first look about what kind of victual the country yields of itself to hand; as chesnuts, walnuts, pineapples, olives, dates, plums, cherries, wild honey, and the like, and make use of them. Then confider what victual, or esculent things there are, which grow speedily, and within the year; as parsnips, carrots, turnips, onions, raddish, artichokes of Jerusalem, maise, and

the like: for wheat, barley, and oats, they ask too much labour; but with peafe and beans you may begin; both because they ask less labour, and because they serve for meat, as well as for bread; and of rice likewise cometh a great increase, and it is a kind of meat. Above all, there ought to be brought store of biscuit, oatmeal, flower, meal, and the like, in the beginning, till bread may be had. For beafts or birds, take chiefly fuch as are leaft subject to diseases, and multiply fastest; as fwine, goats, cocks, hens, turkeys, geefe, house-doves, and the like. The victual in plantations ought to be expended almost as in a befieged town; that is, with certain allowance: and let the main part of the ground employed to gardens or corn, be to a common stock; and to be laid in, and stored up, and then delivered out in proportion; besides some fpots of ground that any particular person will manure for his own private. Confider, likewife, what commodities the foil where the plantation is doth naturally yield, that they may fome way help to defray the charge of the plantation; fo it be not, as was faid, to the untimely prejudice of the main bufiness;

as it hath fared with tobacco in Virginia. Wood commonly aboundeth but too much; and therefore timber is fit to be one. If there be iron oar, and streams whereupon to fet the mills, iron is a brave commodity where wood aboundeth. Making of bay-falt, if the climate be proper for it, would be put in experience: growing filk likewise, if any be, is a likely commodity: pitch and tar. where store of firs and pines are, will not fail; fo drugs and fweet woods, where they are, cannot but yield great profit; foap ashes likewise, and other things that may be thought of: but moil not too much under ground, for the hope of mines is very uncertain, and useth to make the planters lazy in others. For government, let it be in the hands of one affifted with fome counfel; and let them have commission to exercise martial laws with fome limitation; and, above all, let men make that profit of being in the wilderness, as they have God always, and his fervice, before their eyes: let not the government of the plantation depend upon too many counsellors and undertakers in the country that planteth, but upon a temperate number; and let those be rather noblemen and gentlemen, than merchants; for they look ever to the present gain: let there be freedom from custom till the plantation be of strength; and not only freedom from custom, but freedom to carry their commodities where they may make their best of them, except there be some special cause of caution. Cram not in people, by sending too fast company after company; but rather hearken how they waste, and fend supplies proportionably; but fo as the number may live well in the plantation, and not by furcharge be in penury. It hath been a great endangering to the health of fome plantations that they have built along the fea and rivers, in marish and unwholesome grounds: therefore, though you begin there to avoid carriage and other like discommodities, yet build still rather upwards from the streams, than along. It concerneth likewise the health of the plantation that they have good store of falt with them, that they may use it in their victuals when it shall be necessary. If you plant where savages are, do not only entertain them with trifles and gingles; but use them justly and graciously, with sufficient guard nevertheless; and do not win their favour by helping them to invade their enemies, but for their defence it is not amis; and send oft of them over to the country that plants, that they may see a better condition than their own, and commend it when they return. When the plantation grows to strength, then it is time to plant with women as well as with men; that the plantation may spread into generations, and not be ever pierced from without. It is the sinfullest thing in the world to forsake or destitute a plantation once in forwardness; for, besides the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many commisserable persons.

OF RICHES.

I CANNOT call riches better than the baggage of virtue; the Roman word is better, "im"pedimenta;" for as the baggage is to an army, so are riches to virtue; it cannot be spared nor lest behind, but it hinderest the march; yea, and the care of it sometimes loseth or disturbeth the victory: of great riches there is no real use, except it be in the distribution; the rest is but conceit: so saith

Solomon; "Where much is, there are many " to confume it; and what hath the owner " but the fight of it with his eyes?" The perfonal fruition in any man cannot reach to feel great riches: there is a custody of them; or a power of dole and donative of them; or a fame of them; but no folid use to the owner. Do you not fee what feigned princes are fet upon little stones and rarities? and what works of oftentation are undertaken, because there might feem to be fome use of great riches? But then you will fay they may be of use to buy men out of dangers or troubles; as Solomon faith, "Riches are as a strong hold in "the imagination of the rich man:" but this is excellently expressed, that it is in imagination, and not always in fact; for, certainly, great riches have fold more men than they have bought out. Seek not proud riches, but fuch as thou mayest get justly, use soberly, distribute cheerfully, and leave contentedly: yet have no abstract or friarly contempt of them; but diftinguish, as Cicero faith well of Rabirius Posthumus, "in studio rei amplifi-" candæ apparebat, non avaritiæ prædam, fed "inftrumentum bonitati quæri." Hearken alfo

to Solomon, and beware of hafty gathering of riches; "Qui festinat ad divitias, non erit "infons." The poets feign, that when Plutus. (which is riches,) is fent from Jupiter, he limps, and goes flowly; but when he is fent from Pluto, he runs, and is fwift of foot: meaning, that riches gotten by good means and just labour pace flowly; but when they come by the death of others, (as by the course of inheritance, testaments, and the like,) they come tumbling upon a man: but it might be applied likewife to Pluto taking him for the devil; for when riches come from the devil, (as by fraud, and oppression, and unjust means,) they come upon fpeed. The ways to enrich are many, and most of them foul: parsimony is one of the best, and yet is not innocent; for it withholdeth men from works of liberality and charity. The improvement of the ground is the most natural obtaining of riches; for it is our great mother's bleffing, the earth; but it is flow: and yet, where men of great wealth do floop to husbandry, it multiplieth riches exceedingly. I knew a nobleman in England that had the greatest audits of any man in my time; a great grazier, a great sheep master, a

great timber man, a great collier, a great corn mafter, a great lead man, and fo of iron, and a number of the like points of husbandry; so as the earth feemed a fea to him in respect of the perpetual importation. It was truly observed by one, "That himself came very hardly to a "little riches, and very eafily to great riches;" for when a man's stock is come to that, that he can expect the prime of markets, and overcome those bargains, which for their greatness are few men's money, and be partner in the industries of young men, he cannot but increase mainly. The gains of ordinary trades and vocations are honest, and furthered by two things, chiefly, by diligence, and by a good name for good and fair dealing; but the gains of bargains are of a more doubtful nature, when men shall wait upon others necessity; broke by fervants and inftruments to draw them on; put off others cunningly that would be better chapmen, and the like practices, which are crafty and naught: as for the chopping of bargains, when a man buys not to hold but to fell over again, that commonly grindeth double, both upon the feller and upon the buyer. Sharings do greatly enrich if the hands be well chosen that are trusted. Usury is the certainest means of gain, though one of the worst, as that whereby a man doth eat his bread, "in fudore vultus alieni;" and besides, doth plough upon fundays: but yet certain though it be, it hath flaws; for that the scriveners and brokers do value unfound men to ferve their own turn. The fortune, in being the first in an invention or in a privilege, doth cause sometimes a wonderful overgrowth in riches; as it was with the first sugar man in the Canaries: therefore, if a man can play the true logician, to have as well judgment as invention, he may do great matters, especially if the times be fit: he that resteth upon gains. certain, shall hardly grow to great riches; and he that puts all upon adventures, doth oftentimes break and come to poverty: it is good, therefore, to guard adventures with certainties that may uphold losses. Monopolies, and coemption of wares for refale, where they are not restrained, are great means to enrich; especially if the party have intelligence what things are like to come into request, and so store himself beforehand. Riches gotten by fervice, though it be of the best rife, yet when they are gotten

by flattery, feeding humours, and other fervile conditions, they may be placed amongst the worst. As for fishing for testaments and executorships, (as Tacitus faith of Seneca, "tef-" tamenta et orbos tanquam indagine capi,") it is yet worse, by how much men submit themselves to meaner persons than in service. Believe not much them that feem to despife riches, for they despise them that despair of them; and none worse when they come to them. Be not penny-wife; riches have wings, and fometimes they fly away of themselves, fometimes they must be set flying to bring in more. Men leave their riches either to their kindred, or to the public; and moderate portions prosper best in both. A great estate left to an heir, is as a lure to all the birds of prey round about to feize on him, if he be not the better ftablished in years and judgment: likewife, glorious gifts and foundations are like facrifices without falt; and but the painted fepulchres of alms, which foon will putrefy and corrupt inwardly: therefore measure not thine advancements by quantity, but frame them by measure: and defer not charities till. death; for, certainly, if a man weigh it rightly,

he that doth so is rather liberal of another man's than of his own.

OF PROPHECIES.

I MEAN not to speak of divine prophecies, nor of heathen oracles, nor of natural predictions; but only of prophecies that have been of certain memory, and from hidden causes. Saith the Pythonissa to Saul, "To-morrow thou and "thy son shall be with me." Virgil hath these verses from Homer:

"At domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur oris,
Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis." Æneid. iii. 97.

A prophecy as it feems of the Roman empire. Seneca the tragedian hath these verses:

> "Venient annis Sæcula feris, quibus oceanus Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens Pateat tellus, Tiphysque novos Detegat orbes; nec sit terris Ultima Thule:"

a prophecy of the discovery of America. The daughter of Polycrates dreamed that Jupiter

With the distribution

bathed her father, and Apollo anointed him; and it came to pass that he was crucified in an open place, where the fun made his body run with fweat, and the rain washed it. Philip of Macedon dreamed he fealed up his wife's belly; whereby he did expound it, that his wife should be barren; but Aristander the foothfayer told him his wife was with child, because men do not use to seal vessels that are empty. A phantasm that appeared to M. Brutus in his tent, faid to him; "Philippis "iterum me videbis." Tiberius faid to Galba, " tu quoque, Galba, degustabis imperium." In Vespasian's time there went a prophecy in the East, that those that should come forth of Judæa, should reign over the world; which though it may be was meant of our Saviour, yet Tacitus expounds it of Vespasian. Domitian dreamed, the night before he was flain, that a golden head was growing out of the nape of his neck; and indeed the fuccession that followed him, for many years, made golden times. Henry the fixth of England faid of Henry the seventh, when he was a lad, and gave him water, "This is the lad that "fhall enjoy the crown for which we ftrive."

When I was in France, I heard from one Dr. Pena, that the queen mother, who was given to curious arts, cauted the king her husband's nativity to be calculated under a false name; and the astrologer gave a judgment, that he should be killed in a duel; at which the queen laughed, thinking her husband to be above challenges and duels: but he was slain upon a course at tilt, the splinters of the staff of Montgomery going in at his bever. The trivial prophecy which I heard when I was a child, and queen Elizabeth was in the flower of her years, was;

"When hemp is foun, England's done:"

whereby it was generally conceived, that after the princes had reigned which had the principal letters of that word hemp, (which were Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip, and Elizabeth,) England should come to utter confusion; which, thanks be to God, is verified only in the change of the name; for that the king's ftyle is now no more of England, but of Britain. There was also another prophecy before the year of eighty-eight, which I do not well understand. Between the baugh and the May,

The black fleet of Norway.

When that that is come and gone,

England build houses of lime and stone,

For after wars shall you have none."

It was generally conceived to be meant of the Spanish fleet that came in eighty-eight; for that the king of Spain's surname, as they say, is Norway. The prediction of Regiomontanus,

" Octogefimus octavus mirabilis annus:"

was thought likewise accomplished in the sending of that great fleet, being the greatest in strength, though not in number of all that ever swam upon the sea. As for Cleon's dream, I think it was a jest: it was, that he was devoured of a long dragon; and it was expounded of a maker of sausages, that troubled him exceedingly. There are numbers of the like kind; especially if you include dreams, and predictions of astrology: but I have set down these sew only of certain credit, for example. My judgment is, that they ought

all to be despised, and ought to serve but for winter talk by the fire fide. Though when I fay despised, I mean it as for belief; for otherwife, the spreading or publishing of them is in no fort to be despised; for they have done much mischief; and I see many severe laws made to suppress them. That, that hath given them grace and fome credit, confifteth in three things. First, that men mark when they hit, and never mark when they miss; as they do, generally, also of dreams. The second is, that probable conjectures, or obscure traditions many times turn themselves into prophecies; while the nature of man, which coveteth divination, thinks it no peril to foretel that which indeed they do but collect: as that of Seneca's verse; for so much was then fubject to demonstration, that the globe of the earth had great parts beyond the Atlantic. which might be probably conceived not to be all fea: and adding thereto the tradition in-Plato's Timæus, and his Atlanticus, it might encourage one to turn it to a prediction. The third and last, (which is the great one,) is that almost all of them, being infinite in number, have been impostures, and by idle and crafty

brains, merely contrived and feigned, after the event paft,

enter to late to the

mist on all 11 your little

OF AMBITION.

Ambition is like choler, which is an humour that maketh men active, earnest, full of alacrity, and stirring, if it be not stopped; but if it be flopped, and cannot have its way, it becometh adust, and thereby malign and venomous: fo ambitious men, if they find the way open for their rifing, and still get forward, they are rather bufy than dangerous; but if they be checked in their defires, they become fecretly discontent, and look upon men and matters with an evil eye, and are best pleased when things go backward; which is the worst property in a fervant of a prince or ftate: therefore it is good for princes, if they use ambitious men, to handle it fo, as they be still progressive, and not retrograde; which, because it cannot be without inconvenience, it is good not to use such natures at all; for if they rife not with their fervice they will take order to make their fervice fall with them.

But fince we have faid, it were good not to use men of ambitious natures, except it be upon necessity, it is fit we speak in what cases they are of necessity. Good commanders in the wars must be taken, be they never so ambitious; for the use of their service dispenseth with the rest: and to take a soldier without ambition, is to pull off his fours. There is also great use of ambitious men in being fcreens to princes in matters of danger and envy; for no man will take that part, except he be like a feeled dove, that mounts and mounts, because he cannot see about him. There is use also of ambitious men in pulling down the greatness of any subject that overtops; as Tiberius used Macro in the pulling down of Sejanus. Since therefore they must be used in such cases, there resteth to speak how they are to be bridled, that they may be less dangerous: there is less danger of them if they be of mean birth, than if they be noble; and. if they be rather harsh of nature, than gracious and popular; and if they be rather new raised, than grown cunning and fortified in their greatness. It is counted by some a weakness in princes to have favourites; but it is, of all. others, the best remedy against ambitious great ones; for when the way of pleasuring and displeasuring lieth by the favourite, it is impossible any other should be over-great. Another means to curb them is to balance them by others as proud as they: but then there must be fome middle counfellors to keep things steady; for without that ballast the ship will roll too much. At the leaft, a prince may animate and inure fome meaner persons to be, as it were, scourges to ambitious men. As for the having of them obnoxious to ruin, if they be of fearful natures, it may do well; but if they be flout and daring, it may precipitate their defigns, and prove dangerous. As for the pulling of them down, if the affairs require it, and that it may not be done with fafety fuddenly, the only way is, the interchange continually of favours and difgraces, whereby they may not know what to expect, and be, as it were, in a wood. Of ambitions, it is less harmful the ambition to prevail in great things, than that other to appear in every thing; for that breeds confusion, and mars business: but yet it is less danger to have an ambitious man firring in bufiness, than great in dependences.

He that feeketh to be eminent amongst able men hath a great task; but that is ever good for the public: but he that plots to be the only figure amongst cyphers, is the decay of a whole age. Honour hath three things in it; the vantage ground to do good; the approach to kings and principal persons; and the raising of a man's own fortunes. He that hath the best of these intentions, when he aspireth, is an honest man; and that prince, that can discern of these intentions in another that aspireth, is a wife prince. Generally let princes and states choose such ministers as are more fensible of duty than of rifing, and such as love business rather upon conscience than upon bravery; and let them difcern a bufy nature from a willing mind.

OF MASQUES AND TRIUMPHS.

THESE things are but toys to come amongft such ferious observations; but yet, since princes will have such things, it is better they should be graced with elegancy, than daubed with cost. Dancing to song is a thing of great state and

pleasure. I understand it that the fong be in quire, placed aloft, and accompanied with fome broken music; and the ditty fitted to the device. Acting in fong, especially in dialogues, hath an extreme good grace; I fay acting, not dancing; (for that is a mean and vulgar thing;) and the voices of the dialogue would be strong and manly, (a base, and a tenor; no treble,) and the ditty high and tragical; not nice or dainty. Several quires placed one over against another, and taking the voice by catches anthem-wife, give great pleafure. Turning dances into figure is a childish curiosity: and generally let it be noted, that those things which I here fet down are fuch as do naturally take the fense, and not respect petty wonderments. It is true, the alterations of scenes, so it be quietly and without noise, are things of great beauty and pleafure; for they feed and relieve the eye before it be full of the same object. Let the scenes abound with light, especially coloured and varied; and let the masquers, or any other that are to come down from the scene, have some motions upon the scene itself before their coming down; for it draws the eye strangely, and makes it with

great pleasure to desire to see that it cannot perfectly difcern. Let the fongs be loud and cheerful, and not chirpings or pulings: let the music likewise be sharp and loud, and well placed. The colours that shew best by candlelight are white, carnation, and a kind of feawater green; and ouches, or fpangs, as they are of no great cost, so they are of most glory. As for rich embroidery, it is loft and not difcerned. Let the fuits of the masquers be graceful, and fuch as become the person when the vizards are off; not after examples of known attires; turks, foldiers, mariners, and the like. Let anti-masques not be long; they have been commonly of fools, fatyrs, baboons, wild men, antics, beafts, spirits, witches, æthiopes, pygmies, turquets, nymphs, rustics, cupids, statues moving, and the like. As for angels, it is not comical enough to put them in anti masques; and any thing that is hideous, as devils, giants, is, on the other fide, as unfit; but chiefly, let the music of them be recreative, and with some ftrange changes. Some fweet odours fuddenly coming forth, without any drops falling, are in fuch a company, as there is steam and heat, things of great pleasure and refreshment.

Double masques, one of men, another of ladies; addeth state and variety; but all is nothing except the room be kept clear and neat.

For justs, and tourneys, and barriers, the glories of them are chiefly in the chariots, wherein the challengers make their entry; especially if they be drawn with strange beasts; as lions, bears, camels, and the like; or in the devices of their entrance, or in bravery of their liveries, or in the goodly furniture of their horses and armour. But enough of these toys.

OF NATURE IN MEN.

NATURE is often hidden, fometimes overcome, feldom extinguished. Force maketh nature more violent in the return; doctrine and discourse maketh nature less importune; but custom only doth alter and subdue nature. He that seeketh victory over his nature, let him not set himself too great nor too small tasks; for the first will make him dejected by often failings, and the second will make him a small proceeder, though by often prevailings: and at

the first, let him practife with helps, as swimmers do with bladders or rushes; but after a time, let him practife with disadvantages, as dancers do with thick shoes; for it breeds great perfection if the practice be harder than the use. Where nature is mighty, and therefore the victory hard, the degrees had need be, first to stay and arrest nature in time; like to him that would say over the four and twenty letters when he was angry; then to go less in quantity; as if one should in sorbearing wine, come from drinking healths to a draught at a meal; and lastly, to discontinue altogether: but if a man have the fortitude and resolution to enfranchise himself at once, that is the best;

"Optimus ille animi vindex, lædentia pectus Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque femel."

Neither is the ancient rule amifs, to bend nature as a wand to a contrary extreme, whereby to fet it right; understanding it where the contrary extreme is no vice. Let not a man force a habit upon himself with a perpetual continuance, but with some intermission; for both the pause reinforceth the new onset; and, if a man that is not perfect be ever in practice, he

shall as well practife his errors as his abilities, and induce one habit of both; and there is no means to help this but by feafonable intermission: but let not a man trust his victory over his nature too far; for nature will lie buried a great time, and yet revive upon the occasion or temptation; like as it was with Æsop's damsel, turned from a cat to a woman, who fate very demurely at the board's end till a mouse ran before her: therefore let a man either avoid the occasion altogether, or put himself often to it, that he may be little moved with it. A man's nature is best perceived in privateness; for there is no affectation in pasfion; for that putteth a man out of his precepts, and in a new case or experiment, for there custom leaveth him. They are happy men whose natures fort with their vocations; otherwife they may fay, "multum incola fuit anima "mea." when they converse in those things they do not affect. In studies, whatsoever a man commandeth upon himself, let him set hours for it; but whatfoever is agreeable to his nature, let him take no care for any fet times; for his thoughts will fly to it of themfelves, fo as the spaces of other business or

studies will suffice. A man's nature runs either to herbs or weeds; therefore let him seasonably water the one, and destroy the other.

OF CUSTOM AND EDUCATION.

Men's thoughts are much according to their inclination; their discourse and speeches according to their learning and infused opinions; but their deeds are after as they have been accustomed: and therefore, as Machiavel well noteth, (though in an evil favoured instance,) there is no trufting to the force of nature, nor to the bravery of words, except it be corroborate by custom. His instance is, that for the achieving of a desperate conspiracy a man should not rest upon the fierceness of any man's nature, or his resolute undertakings; but take fuch an one as hath had his hands formerly in blood: but Machiavel knew not of a friar Clement, nor a Ravillac, nor a Jaureguy, nor a Baltazar Gerard; yet his rule holdeth still, that nature, nor the engagement of words, are not so forcible as custom. Only fuperfition is now fo well advanced, that men of the first blood are as firm as butchers by occupation; and votary refolution is made equipollent to custom, even in matter of blood. In other things the predominancy of custom is every where vifible, infomuch as a man would wonder to hear men profess, protest, engage, give great words, and then do just as they have done before, as if they were dead images and engines moved only by the wheels of custom. We see also the reign or tyranny of custom what it is. The Indians, (I mean the fect of their wife men,) lay themselves quietly upon a ftack of wood, and so facrifice themselves by fire: nay, the wives strive to be burned with the corpse of their husbands. The lads of Sparta of ancient time were wont to be scourged upon the altar of Diana, without so much as queching. I remember, in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's time of England, an Irish rebel condemned put up a petition to the deputy that he might be hanged in a wyth, and not in an halter, because it had been so used with former rebels. There be monks in Russia, for penance, that will sit a whole night in a veffel of water till they be

engaged with hard ice. Many examples may be put of the force of custom, both upon mind and body: therefore, fince custom is the principal magistrate of man's life, let men by all means endeavour to obtain good customs. Certainly, cuftom is most perfect when it beginneth in young years: this we call education, which is, in effect, but an early custom. we fee, in languages the tongue is more pliant to all expressions and sounds, the joints are more supple to all feats of activity and motions in youth, than afterwards; for it is true, the late learners cannot fo well take the ply, except it be in some minds that have not suffered themselves to fix, but have kept themselves open and prepared to receive continual amendment, which is exceeding rare: but if the force of custom, simple and separate, be great, the force of custom, copulate and conjoined and collegiate, is far greater; for there example teacheth, company comforteth, emulation quickeneth, glory raifeth; fo as in fuch places the force of custom is in its exaltation. Certainly, the great multiplication of virtues upon human nature resteth upon societies well ordained and disciplined; for commonwealths and good governments do nourish virtue grown, but do not much mend the seeds: but the misery is, that the most effectual means are now applied to the ends least to be desired.

OF FORTUNE.

IT cannot be denied but outward accidents conduce much to fortune; favour, opportunity, death of others, occasion fitting virtue: but chiefly, the mould of a man's fortune is in his own hands; "Faber quisque fortunæ . " fuæ," faith the poet; and the most frequent of external causes is, that the folly of one man is the fortune of another; for no man prospers so suddenly as by others errors; "fer-"pens nisi serpentem comederit non fit draco." Overt and apparent virtues bring forth praise; but there be fecret and hidden virtues that bring forth fortune; certain deliveries of a man's felf which have no name. The Spanish name, "disemboltura," partly expresseth them, when there be not flonds nor refliveness in a man's nature, but that the wheels of his mind keep way with the wheels of his fortune; for

fo Livy, (after he had described Cato Major in these words, "in illo viro, tantum robur " corporis et animi fuit, ut quocunque loco " natus effet, fortunam fibi facturus vide-"retur,") falleth upon that that he had. " verfatile ingenium:" therefore, if a man look sharply and attentively, he shall see fortune; for though she be blind, yet she is not invisible. The way of fortune is like the milky way in the fky; which is a meeting or knot of a number of small stars, not seen asunder, but giving light together: fo are there a number of little and scarce discerned virtues. or rather faculties and customs, that make men fortunate: the Italians note fome of them, fuch as a man would little think. When they speak of one that cannot do amis, they will throw in into his other conditions, that he hath "Poco di matto;" and, certainly, there be not two more fortunate properties, than to have a little of the fool, and not too much of the honest: therefore extreme lovers of their country, or masters were never fortunate: neither can they be; for when a man placeth his thoughts without himself, he goeth not his own way. An hasty fortune maketh

an enterprizer and remover; (the French hath it better, "entreprenant," or "remuant;") but the exercised fortune maketh the able man. Fortune is to be honoured and respected, and it be but for her daughters, Confidence and Reputation; for those two felicity breedeth; the first within a man's self; the latter, in others towards him. All wife men, to decline the envy of their own virtues, use to ascribe them to Providence and Fortune; for fo they may the better assume them: and, besides, it is greatness in a man to be the care of the higher powers. So Cæfar faid to the pilot in the tempest, "Cæsarem portas, et fortunam "ejus." So Sylla chose the name of "felix." and not of "magnus:" and it hath been noted, that those that ascribe openly too much to their own wifdom and policy, end unfortunate. It is written, that Timotheus, the Athenian, after he had, in the account he gave to the state of his government, often interlaced this speech, "And in this fortune had no part," never prospered in any thing he undertook afterwards. Certainly there be whose fortunes are like Homer's verses, that have a flide and eafiness more than the verses of other

poets; as Plutarch faith of Timoleon's fortune in respect of that of Agesilaus, or Epaminondas: and that this should be, no doubt it is much in a man's self.

OF USURY.

MANY have made witty invectives against usury. They say, that it is pity the devil should have God's part, which is the tithe; that the usurer is the greatest sabbath breaker, because his plough goeth every sunday; that the usurer is the drone that Virgil speaketh of;

"Ignavum fucos pecus a præsepibus arcent;"

that the usurer breaketh the first law that was made for mankind after the fall; which was, "in "fudore vultus tui comedes panem tuum;" not, "in sudore vultus alieni;" that usurers should have orange-tawny bonnets, because they do judaize; that it is against nature for money to beget money, and the like. I say this only, that usury is a "concessum propter du"ritiem cordis:" for since there must be bor-

rowing and lending, and men are so hard of heart as they will not lend freely, usury must be permitted. Some others have made suspicious and cunning propositions of banks, discovery of men's estates, and other inventions; but sew have spoken of usury usefully. It is good to set before us the incommodities and commodities of usury, that the good may be either weighed out, or culled out; and warily to provide, that, while we make forth to that which is better, we meet not with that which is worse.

The discommodities of usury are, first, that it makes fewer merchants; for were it not for this lazy trade of usury, money would not lie still, but would in great part be employed upon merchandizing; which is the "vena porta" of wealth in a state: the second, that it makes poor merchants; for as a farmer cannot husband his ground so well if he sit at a great rent, so the merchant cannot drive his trade so well if he sit at great usury: the third is incident to the other two; and that is, the decay of customs of kings or estates, which ebb or flow with merchandizing: the fourth, that it bringeth the treasure of a realm or state into a few

hands; for the usurer being at certainties, and others at uncertainties, at the end of the game most of the money will be in the box; and ever a state slourisheth when wealth is more equally spread: the fifth, that it beats down the price of land; for the employment of money is chiefly either merchandizing, or purchasing; and usury waylays both: the sixth, that it doth dull and damp all industries, improvements, and new inventions, wherein money would be stirring, if it were not for this slug: the last, that it is the canker and ruin of many men's estates, which in process of time breeds a public poverty.

On the other fide, the commodities of usury are first, that howsoever usury in some respect hindereth merchandizing, yet in some other it advanceth it; for it is certain that the greatest part of trade is driven by young merchants upon borrowing at interest; so as if the usurer either call in, or keep back his money, there will ensue presently a great stand of trade: the second is, that, were it not for this easy borrowing upon interest, men's necessities would draw upon them a most sudden undoing, in that they would be forced to sell their means,

(be it lands or goods,) far under foot; and fo, whereas usury doth but gnaw upon them, bad markets would swallow them quite up. for mortgaging, or pawning, it will little mend the matter; for either men will not take pains without use; or if they do, they will look precifely for the forfeiture. I remember a cruel monied man in the country, that would fay, "The devil take this usury, it keeps us from "forfeitures of mortgages and bonds." The third and last is, that it is a vanity to conceive that there would be ordinary borrowing without profit; and it is impossible to conceive the number of inconveniences that will enfue if borrowing be cramped: therefore to speak of the abolishing of usury is idle; all states have ever had it in one kind or rate or other: fo as that opinion must be sent to Utopia.

To speak now of the reformation and reglement of usury; how the discommodities of it may be best avoided, and the commodities retained. It appears, by the balance of commodities and discommodities of usury, two things are to be reconciled; the one, that the tooth of usury be grinded, that it bite not too much; the other, that there be left open a

means to invite monied men to lend to the merchants for the continuing and quickening of trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce two feveral forts of ufury, a lefs and a greater; for if you reduce ufury to one low rate, it will ease the common borrower, but the merchant will be to seek for money: and it is to be noted, that the trade of merchandize being the most lucrative, may bear usury at a great rate; other contracts not so.

To ferve both intentions, the way would be briefly thus: that there be two rates of usury; the one free and general for all; the other under license only to certain persons, and in certain places of merchandizing. therefore, let usury in general be reduced to five in the hundred; and let that rate be proclaimed to be free and current; and let the state shut itself out to take any penalty for the fame: this will preserve borrowing from any general stop or dryness; this will ease infinite borrowers in the country; this will in good part raife the price of land, because land purchased at fixteen years purchase, will yield fix in the hundred and somewhat more, whereas this rate of interest yields but five: this by

like reason will encourage and edge industrious and profitable improvements, because many will rather venture in that kind, than take five in the hundred, especially having been used to greater profit. Secondly, let there be certain perfons licensed to lend to known merchants upon usury at a high rate; and let it be with the cautions following; let the rate be, even with the merchant himself, somewhat more eafy than that he used formerly to pay; for by that means all borrowers shall have some ease by this reformation, be he merchant or whofoever; let it be no bank, or common flock, but every man be master of his own money; not that I altogether diflike banks, but they will hardly be brooked in regard of certain fuspicions. Let the state be answered some fmall matter for the license, and the rest left to the lender; for if the abatement be but fmall, it will no whit discourage the lender; for he, for example, that took before ten or nine in the hundred, will fooner descend to eight in the hundred, than give over his trade of usury, and go from certain gains to gains of hazard. Let these licensed lenders be in number indefinite, but reftrained to certain principal cities and towns of merchandizing; for then they will be hardly able to colour other men's monies in the country; fo as the license of nine will not suck away the current rate of five; for no man will lend his monies far off, nor put them into unknown hands.

If it be objected that this doth in a fort authorize usury, which before was in some places but permissive, the answer is, that it is better to mitigate usury by declaration, than to suffer it to rage by connivance.

OF YOUTH AND AGE.

A MAN that is young in years may be old in hours, if he have loft no time; but that happeneth rarely. Generally, youth is like the first cogitations, not so wise as the second: for there is a youth in thoughts as well as in ages; and yet the invention of young men, is more lively than that of old; and imaginations stream into their minds better, and, as it were, more divinely. Natures, that have much heat, and great and violent desires and perturbations, are not ripe for action till they have passed the

meridian of their years; as it was with Julius Cæsar and Septimius Severus: of the latter of whom it is faid, "juventutem egit, erroribus, "imo furoribus plenam;" and yet he was the ablest emperor, almost, of all the list: but reposed natures may do well in youth, as it is feen in Augustus Cæsar, Cosmus, duke of Florence, Gaston de Fois, and others. On the other fide, heat and vivacity in age is an excellent composition for business. Young men are fitter to invent than to judge; fitter for execution than for counsel; and fitter for new projects, than for fettled bufiness; for the experience of age, in things that fall within the compass of it, directeth them; but, in new things, abuseth them. The errors of young men are the ruin of business; but the errors of aged men amount but to this, that more might have been done, or fooner. Young men, iu the conduct and manage of actions, embrace more than they can hold; stir more than they can quiet; fly to the end, without confideration of the means and degrees; purfue some few principles which they have chanced upon abfurdly; care not to innovate, which draws unknown inconveniences; use extreme reme-

dies at first; and that, which doubleth all errors, will not acknowledge or retract them, like an unready horse, that will neither stop nor turn. Men of age object too much, confult too long, adventure too little, repent too foon, and feldom drive business home to the full period; but content themselves with a mediocrity of fuccess. Certainly it is good to compound employments of both; for that will be good for the present, because the virtues of either age may correct the defects of both; and good for fuccession, that young men may be learners, while men in age are actors; and, lastly, good for external accidents, because authority followeth old men, and favour and popularity youth: but for the moral part, perhaps, youth will have the preeminence, as age hath for the politic. A certain rabbin upon the text, "Your young men shall see visions, "and your old men shall dream dreams," inferreth, that young men are admitted nearer to God than old, because vision is a clearer revelation than a dream: and, certainly, the more a man drinketh of the world, the more it intoxicateth; and age doth profit rather in the powers of understanding, than in the virtues

of the will and affections. There be fome have an over-early ripeness in their years, which fadeth betimes: these are, first, such as have brittle wits, the edge whereof is foon turned; fuch as was Hermogenes the rhetorician, whose books are exceeding fubtile, who afterwards waxed stupid: a second fort is of those that have some natural dispositions, which have better grace in youth than in age; fuch as is a fluent and luxuriant speech; which becomes youth well, but not age; fo Tully faith of Hortenfius, "idem manebat, neque idem " decebat:" the third is of fuch as take too high a strain at the first; and are magnanimous, more than tract of years can uphold; as was Scipio Africanus, of whom Livy faith in effect, "ultima primis cedebant."

OF BEAUTY.

VIRTUE is like a rich stone, best plain set; and surely virtue is best in a body that is comely, though not of delicate features; and that hath rather dignity of presence, than beauty of aspect: neither is it almost seen, that very

beautiful persons are otherwise of great virtue; as if nature were rather bufy not to err, than in labour to produce excellency; and therefore they prove accomplished, but not of great spirit; and study rather behaviour than virtue. But this holds not always; for Augustus Cæsar, Titus Vespasianus, Philip le Belle of France. Edward the fourth of England, Alcibiades of Athens, Ismael the fophy of Perfia were all high and great spirits; and yet the most beautiful men of their times. In beauty, that of favour is more than that of colour; and that of decent and gracious motion more than that of favour. That is the best part of beauty which a picture cannot express; no, nor the first fight of the life. There is no excellent beauty that hath not some strangeness in the proportion. A man cannot tell whether Apelles, or Albert Durer, were the more trifler; whereof the one would make a personage by geometrical proportions; the other, by taking the best parts out of divers faces, to make one excellent. Such personages, I think, would: please no body but the painter that made them: not but I think a painter may make a better face than ever was; but he must don't

by a kind of felicity, (as a musician that makethan excellent air in music,) and not by rule. A man shall see faces, that, if you examine them, part by part, you shall find never a good; and yet altogether do well. If it be true, that the principal part of beauty is in decent motion, certainly it is no marvel, though persons in years feem many times more amiable; "pul-"chrorum autumnus pulcher;" for no youth can be comely but by pardon, and confidering the youth as to make up the comeliness. Beauty is as fummer-fruits, which are easy to corrupt, and cannot last; and, for the most part, it makes a dissolute youth, and an age a little out of countenance; but yet certainly again, if it light well, it maketh virtues shine, and vices blufh.

OF DEFORMITY.

DEFORMED persons are commonly even with nature; for as nature hath done ill by them, so do they by nature, being for the most part, (as the scripture saith,) "void of natural affection;" and so they have their revenge of

nature. Certainly there is a confent between the body and the mind, and where nature erreth in the one, she ventureth in the other; " ubi peccat in uno, periclitatur in altero:" but because there is in man an election touching the frame of his mind, and a necessity in the frame of his body, the stars of natural inclination are fometimes obscured by the sun of discipline and virtue; therefore it is good to confider of deformity, not as a fign which is more deceivable, but as a cause which seldom faileth of the effect. Whofoever hath any thing fixed in his person that doth induce contempt, hath also a perpetual spur in himself to rescue and deliver himself from scorn; therefore all deformed persons are extreme bold; first, as in their own defence, as being exposed to scorn; but in process of time by a general habit. Also it stirreth in them industry, and especially of this kind, to watch and observe the weakness of others, that they may have somewhat to repay. Again, in their superiors, it quencheth jealoufy towards them, as persons that they think they may at pleafure despise; and it layeth their competitors and emulators afleep, as never believing they

should be in possibility of advancement till they fee them in possession: fo that upon the matter, in a great wit, deformity is an advantage to rifing. Kings in ancient times, (and at this present in some countries,) were wont to put great trust in eunuchs, because they that are envious towards all, are more obnoxious and officious towards one: but yet their trust towards them hath rather been as to good spials, and good whifperers, than good magistrates and officers: and much like is the reason of deformed persons. Still the ground is, they will, if they be of spirit, seek to free themselves from fcorn; which must be either by virtue or malice: and, therefore, let it not be marvelled if fometimes they prove excellent perfons; as was Agefilaus, Zanger the fon of Solyman, Æsop, Gasca, president of Peru; and Socrates may go likewise amongst them, with others.

1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1 | 1 ::1

III TO PRIME ISTAN

Igre Ins in

OF BUILDING.

Houses are built to live in, and not to look on; therefore let use be preferred before uniformity, except where both may be had. Leave the goodly fabrics of houses, for beauty only, to the enchanted palaces of the poets, who build them with small cost. He, that builds a fair house upon an ill seat, committeth himself to prison: neither do I reckon it an ill feat only, where the air is unwholesome, but likewise where the air is unequal; as you shall see many fine feats set upon a knap of ground, environed with higher hills round about it, whereby the heat of the fun is pent in, and the wind gathereth as in troughs; fo as you shall have, and that suddenly, as great diverfity of heat and cold as if you dwelt in feveral places. Neither is it ill air only that maketh an ill feat; but ill ways, ill markets; and, if you will confult with Momus, ill neighbours. I speak not of many more; want of water; want of wood, shade, and shelter; want of fruitfulness, and mixture of grounds of se-

veral natures; want of prospect; want of level grounds; want of places at some near distance for fports of hunting, hawking, and races; too near the sea, too remote; having the commodity of navigable rivers, or the discommodity of their overflowing; too far off from great cities, which may hinder business; or too near them, which lurcheth all provisions, and maketh every thing dear; where a man hath a great living laid together, and where he is scanted; all which, as it is impossible perhaps to find together, so it is good to know them, and think of them, that a man may take as many as he can; and, if he have feveral dwellings, that he fort them fo, that what he wanteth in the one, he may find in the other. Lucullus answered Pompey well, who, when he saw his stately galleries and rooms so large and lightfome in one of his houses, faid, "Surely an " excellent place for fummer, but how do you "in winter?" Lucullus answered, "Why do "you not think me as wife as fome fowls are, "that ever change their abode towards the "winter?"

To pass from the seat to the house itself, we will do as Cicero doth in the orator's art,

who writes books De Oratore, and a book he entitles Orator; whereof the former delivers the precepts of the art, and the latter the perfection. We will therefore describe a princely palace, making a brief model thereof: for it is strange to see, now in Europe, such huge buildings as the Vatican and Escurial and some others be, and yet scarce a very fair room in them.

First, therefore, I say you cannot have a perfect palace, except you have two feveral fides; a fide for the banquet, as is spoken of in the book of Esther, and a side for the household; the one for feaths and triumphs, and the other for dwelling. I understand both these sides to be not only returns, but parts of the front; and to be uniform without, though severally partitioned within; and to be on both fides of a great and ftately tower in the midst of the front, that, as it were, joineth them together on either hand. I would have, on the fide of the banquet in front, one only goodly room above stairs, of some forty foot high; and under it a room for a dressing or preparing place, at times of triumphs. On the other fide, which is the household fide, I wish it divided at the first into a hall and a chapel, (with a partition between,) both of good state and bigness; and those not to go all the length. but to have at the farther end a winter and a fummer parlour, both fair; and under these rooms a fair and large cellar funk under ground; and likewise some privy kitchens, with butteries and pantries, and the like. As for the. tower, I would have it two ftories, of eighteen foot high apiece above the two wings; and goodly leads upon the top, raifed with flatue's interposed; and the same tower to be divided into rooms as shall be thought fit. The stairs likewife to the upper rooms, let them be upon a fair open newel, and finely railed in with images of wood cast into a brass colour; and a very fair landing place at the top. But this to be, if you do not point any of the lower rooms for a dining place of fervants; for, otherwife, you shall have the servants dinner after your own; for the steam of it will come up as in a tunnel; and fo much for the front: only I understand the height of the first stairs to be fixteen foot, which is the height of the lower room.

Beyond this front is there to be a fair court,

but three fides of it of a far lower building than the front; and in all the four corners of that court fair stair-cases, cast into turrets on the outfide, and not within the row of buildings themselves: but those towers are not to be of the height of the front, but rather proportionable to the lower building. Let the court not be paved, for that striketh up a great. heat in fummer, and much cold in winter; but only fome fide alleys with a crofs, and the quarters to graze, being kept shorn, but not too near shorn. The row of return on the banquet fide, let it be all flately galleries; in which galleries let there be three, or five fine cupolas in the length of it, placed at equal distance, and fine coloured windows of several works: on the household fide, chambers of presence and ordinary entertainments, with fome bed-chambers; and let all three fides be a double house, without thorough lights on the fides, that you may have rooms from the fun, both for forenoon and afternoon, Cast it also, that you may have rooms both for summer and winter; shady for summer, and warm for winter. You shall have sometimes fair houses so full of glass that one cannot tell

where to become to be out of the fun or cold. For embowed windows, I hold them of good use; (in cities, indeed, upright do better, in respect of the uniformity towards the street;) for they be pretty retiring places for conference; and, besides, they keep both the wind and sun off; for that which would strike almost through the room, doth scarce pass the window: but let them be but sew, sour in the court, on the sides only.

Beyond this court, let there be an inward court of the same square and height, which is to be environed with the garden on all fides; and, in the infide, cloistered on all fides upon decent and beautiful arches as high as the first ftory: on the under ftory towards the garden, let it be turned to a grotto, or place of shade or effivation; and only have opening and windows towards the garden, and be level upon the floor, no whit funk under ground, to avoid all dampishess: and let there be a fountain or some fair work of statues in the midst of this court, and to be paved as the other court was. These buildings to be for privy lodgings on both fides, and the end for privy galleries; whereof you must foresee that one of them be for an infir-

mary, if the prince or any special person should be fick, with chambers, bed-chamber, "an-"tecamera," and "recamera," joining to it; this upon the fecond story. Upon the ground ftory, a fair gallery, open, upon pillars; and upon the third ftory likewife, an open gallery upon pillars, to take the prospect and freshness of the garden. At both corners of the farther fide, by way of return, let there be two delicate or rich cabinets, daintily paved, richly hanged, glazed with crystalline glass, and a rich cupola in the midst; and all other elegancy that may be thought upon. In the upper gallery too, I wish that there may be, if the place will yield it, some fountains running in divers places from the wall, with some fine avoidances. And thus much for the model of the palace; fave that you must have, before you come to the front, three courts; a green court plain, with a wall about it; a fecond court of the same, but more garnished with little turrets, or rather embellishments upon the wall; and a third court, to make a square with the front, but not to be built, nor yet enclosed with a naked wall, but enclosed with terraces leaded aloft, and fairly garnished on the three fides; and cloistered on the infide with pillars, and not with arches below. As for offices, let them stand at distance, with some low galleries to pass from them to the palace itself.

OF GARDENS.

Gop Almighty first planted a garden; and, indeed, it is the pureft of human pleasures; it is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man; without which buildings and palaces are but grofs handyworks: and a man shall ever see, that, when ages grow to civility and elegancy, men come to build stately, sooner than to garden finely; as if gardening were the greater perfection. I do hold it, in the royal ordering of gardens, there ought to be gardens for all the months in the year; in which, severally, things of beauty may be then in feafon. For December and January, and the latter part of November, you must take such things as are green all winter; holly; ivy; bays; juniper; cypress trees; yew; pines; fir trees; rofemary; lavender; periwinkle, the white, the

purple, and the blue; germander; flags; orange trees; lemon trees, and myrtles, if they be floved; and fweet marjoram warm fet. There followeth, for the latter part of January and February, the mezereon tree, which then bloffoms; crocus vernus, both the yellow and the grey; primrofes; anemones; the early tulip; hyacinthus orientalis; chamaïris; fritellaria. For March there come violets, especially the fingle blue, which are the earliest; the yellow daffodil; the daify; the almond tree in bloffom; the peach tree in bloflom; the cornelian tree in bloffom; fweet-briar. In April follow the double white violet; the wall-flower; the flockgisliflower; the cowslip; flower de luces; and lilies of all natures; rosemary-flowers; the tulip; the double peony; the pale daffodil; the French honeyfuckle; the cherry tree in bloffom; the damascene and plum trees in blossom; the white thorn in leaf; the lilac tree. In May and June come pinks of all forts, especially the blush pink; roses of all kinds, except the musk, which comes later; honeyfuckles; strawberries; bugloss; columbine; the French marygold; flos Africanus; cherry tree in fruit; ribes; figs in fruit; rasps; vine flowers;

lavender in flowers; the sweet satyrian, with the white flower; herba muscaria; lilium convallium; the apple tree in bloffom. In July come gilliflowers of all varieties; musk roses; the lime tree in bloffom; early pears, and plums in fruit; gennitings; codlins. In August come plums of all forts in fruit; pears; apricots; berberies; filberds; mutkmelons; monks-hoods of all colours. In September come grapes; apples; poppeys of all colours; peaches; melocotones; nectarines; cornelians; wardens; quinces. In October and the beginning of November, come fervices; medlars; bullaces; rofes cut or removed to come late; hollyoaks; and fuch like. These particulars are for the climate of London: but my meaning is perceived, that you may have "ver perpetuum," as the place affords.

And because the breath of flowers is far sweeter in the air, (where it comes and goes, like the warbling of music,) than in the hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that delight, than to know what be the flowers and plants that do best persume the air. Roses, damask and red, are fast flowers of their smells; so that you may walk by a whole row of them,

and find nothing of their fweetness; vea. though it be in a morning's dew. Bays, likewife, yield no fmell as they grow, rofemary little, nor fweet marjoram; that which, above all others, yields the sweetest smell in the air, is the violet; especially the white double violet, which comes twice a year, about the middle of April, and about Bartholomew-tide. Next to that is the musk-rose; then the strawberry leaves dying, with a most excellent cordial fmell; then the flower of the vines; it is a little dust like the dust of a bent. which grows upon the cluster in the first coming forth; then fweet-briar, then wallflowers, which are very delightful to be fet under a parlour or lower chamber window; then pinks and gilliflowers, especially the matted pink, and clove gilliflower; then the flowers of the lime tree; then the honeyfuckles, fo they be fomewhat afar off. Of bean-flowers I speak not, because they are field flowers: but those which perfume the air most delightfully, not passed by as the rest, but being trodden upon and crushed, are three; that is, burnet, wild thyme, and watermints; therefore you are to fet whole alleys of them, to have the pleasure when you walk or tread.

For gardens, (speaking of those which are indeed prince-like, as we have done of buildings,) the contents ought not well to be under thirty acres of ground, and to be divided into three parts; a green in the entrance, a heath or defert in the going forth, and the main garden in the midft, besides alleys on both fides; and I like well, that four acres of ground be affigned to the green, fix to the heath, four and four to either fide, and twelve to the main garden. The green hath two pleafures; the one, because nothing is more pleasant to the eye than green grass kept finely shorn; the other, because it will give you a fair alley in the midst, by which you may go in front upon a stately hedge, which is to inclose the garden: but because the alley will be long, and, in great heat of the year or day, you ought not to buy the shade in the garden by going in the fun through the green; therefore you are, of either fide the green, to plant a covert alley, upon carpenter's work, about twelve foot in height, by which you may go in shade into the garden. As for the

making of knots or figures with divers coloured earths, that they may lie under the windows of the house on that side which the garden stands, they be but toys; you may fee as good fights many times in tarts. The garden is best to be square, encompassed on all the four fides with a stately arched hedge; the arches to be upon pillars of carpenter's work, of some ten foot high, and fix foot broad; and the spaces between of the same dimension with the breadth of the arch. Over the arches let there be an entire hedge of fome four foot high, framed also upon carpenter's work; and upon the upper hedge, over every arch, a little turnet, with a belly enough to receive a cage of birds; and over every fpace between the arches some other little figure, with broad plates of round coloured glass gilt, for the sun to play upon: but this hedge I intend to be raised upon a bank, not sleep, but gently slope, of some fix foot; fet all with flowers. Also I understand, that this fquare of the garden should not be the whole breadth of the ground, but to leave on either fide ground enough for diverfity of fide alleys, unto which the two covert alleys of

the green may deliver you; but there must be no alleys with hedges at either end of this great enclosure; not at the hither end, for letting your prospect upon this fair hedge from the green; nor at the farther end, for letting your prospect from the hedge through the arches upon the heath.

For the ordering of the ground within the great hedge, I leave it to variety of device; advising, nevertheless, that whatsoever form you cast it into first, it be not too busy or full of work: wherein I, for my part, do not like images cut out in juniper or other garden stuff; they be for children. Little low hedges, round like welts, with fome pretty pyramids, I like well; and in fome places fair columns upon frames of carpenter's work. I would also have the alleys spacious and fair. You may have closer alleys upon the fide grounds, but none in the main garden. I wish also, in the very middle, a fair mount, with three afcents and alleys, enough for four to walk abreaft; which I would have to be perfect circles, without any bulwarks or embosments; and the whole mount to be thirty feet high; and some fine banqueting house, with some chimneys neatly cast, and without too much glass.

For fountains, they are a great beauty and refreshment; but pools mar all, and make the garden unwholesome, and full of flies and frogs. Fountains I intend to be of two natures; the one that fprinkleth or spouteth water; the other a fair receipt of water of some thirty or forty feet square, but without fish, or slime, or mud. For the first, the ornaments of images, gilt or of marble, which are in use, do well: but the main matter is fo to convey the water. as it never flay either in the bowls or in the cistern; that the water be never by rest discoloured, green or red, or the like, or gather any mossiness or putrefaction; besides that, it is to be cleanfed every day by the hand: also fome steps up to it, and some fine pavement about it do well. As for the other kind of fountain, which we may call a bathing pool, it may admit much curiofity and beauty, wherewith we will not trouble ourselves; as, that the bottom be finely paved, and with images; the fides likewise; and withal embellished with coloured glass, and such things of luftre; encompassed also with fine rails of

low statues: but the main point is the same which we mentioned in the former kind of fountain; which is, that the water be in perpetual motion, fed by a water higher than the pool, and delivered into it by fair spouts, and then discharged away under ground by some equality of bores, that it stay little; and for sine devices of arching water without spilling, and making it rise in several forms, (of feathers, drinking glasses, canopies, and the like,) they be pretty things to look on, but nothing to health and sweetness.

For the heath, which was the third part of our plot, I wish it to be framed as much as may be to a natural wildness. Trees I would have none in it, but some thickets made only of sweetbriar and honeysuckle, and some wild vine amongst; and the ground set with violets, strawberries, and primroses; for these are sweet, and prosper in the shade; and these are to be in the heath here and there, not in any order. I like also little heaps, in the nature of mole-hills, (such as are in wild heaths,) to be set, some with wild thyme; some with pinks; some with germander, that gives a good flower to the eye; some with periwinkle; some with

violets; fome with strawberries; some with cowssips; some with daisses; some with red roses; some with lilium convallium; some with sweet-williams red; some with bears soot, and the like low slowers, being withal sweet and sightly: part of which heaps to be with standards of little bushes pricked upon their top, and part without: the standards to be roses, juniper, holly, berberies, (but here and there, because of the smell of their blossom,) red currants, gooseberries, rosemary, bays, sweetbriar, and such like; but these standards to be kept with cutting, that they grow not out of course.

For the fide grounds, you are to fill them with variety of alleys private, to give a full shade; some of them wheresoever the sun be. You are to frame some of them likewise for shelter, that when the wind blows sharp, you may walk as in a gallery: and those alleys must be likewise hedged at both ends, to keep out the wind; and these closer alleys must be ever sinely gravelled, and no grass, because of going wet. In many of these alleys, likewise, you are to set fruit trees of all sorts, as well upon the walls as in ranges; and this should be generally

observed, that the borders wherein you plant your fruit trees be fair and large and low, and not steep; and set with fine slowers, but thin and sparingly, lest they deceive the trees. At the end of both the side grounds I would have a mount of some pretty height, leaving the wall of the enclosure breast high to look abroad into the fields.

For the main garden, I do not deny but there should be some fair alleys, ranged on both sides with fruit trees, and some pretty tusts of fruit trees and arbours with seats, set in some decent order; but these to be by no means set too thick, but to leave the main garden so as it be not close, but the air open and free. For as for shade, I would have you rest upon the alleys of the side grounds, there to walk, if you be disposed, in the heat of the year or day; but to make account, that the main garden is for the more temperate parts of the year, and, in the heat of summer, for the morning and the evening, or overcast days.

For aviaries, I like them not, except they be of that largeness as they may be turfed, and have living plants and bushes set in them; that the birds may have more scope and natural neflling, and that no foulness appear on the floor of the aviary. So I have made a platform of a princely garden, partly by precept, partly by drawing; not a model, but fome general lines of it; and in this I have spared for no cost: but it is nothing for great princes, that, for the most part taking advice with workmen, with no less cost fet their things together; and sometimes add statues and such things for state and magnificence, but nothing to the true pleasure of a garden.

OF NEGOCIATING.

Ir is generally better to deal by speech, than by letter; and by the mediation of a third, than by a man's self. Letters are good, when a man would draw an answer by letter back again; or when it may serve for a man's justification afterwards to produce his own letter; or where it may be in danger to be interrupted, or heard by pieces. To deal in person is good when a man's face breedeth regard, as commonly with inferiors; or in tender cases, where a man's eye upon the countenance of

him, with whom he speaketh, may give him a direction how far to go; and generally where a man will referve to himself liberty, either to difavow or to expound. In choice of inftruments, it is better to choose men of a plainer fort, that are like to do that, that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the fuccefs, than those, that are cunning to contrive, out of other men's business, somewhat to grace themselves, and will help the matter in report for fatisfaction fake. Use also such persons as affect the business wherein they are employed, for that quickeneth much; and fuch as are fit for the matter; as bold men for expostulation, fair-spoken men for perfuafion, crafty men for inquiry and observation, froward and abfurd men for bufiness that doth not well bear out itself. Use also such as have been lucky, and prevailed before in things, wherein you have employed them; for that breeds confidence, and they will strive to maintain their prescription. It is better to found a person, with whom one deals, afar off, than to fall upon the point at first; except you mean to furprife him by fome short question. It is better dealing with men in appetite, than

with those that are where they would be. a man deal with another upon conditions, the flart of first performance is all; which a man cannot reasonably demand, except either the nature of the thing be fuch which must go before; or else a man can persuade the otherparty, that he shall still need him in some other thing; or else that he be counted the honester man. All practice is to discover, or to work. Men discover themselves in trust; in passion; at unawares; and of necessity, when they would. have fomewhat done, and cannot find an apt pretext. If you would work any man, you must either know his nature and fashions, and fo lead him; or his ends, and fo persuade him; or his weakness and disadvantages, and so awe him; or those that have interest in him, and fo govern him. In dealing with cunning perfons, we must ever consider their ends to interpret their speeches; and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least look for. In all negociations of difficulty, a man may not look to fow and reap at once; but must prepare business, and so ripen it by degrees.

OF FOLLOWERS AND FRIENDS.

COSTLY followers are not to be liked; left while a man maketh his train longer, he make his wings shorter. I reckon to be costly, not them alone which charge the purse, but which are wearisome and importune in suits. nary followers ought to challenge no higher conditions than countenance, recommendation, and protection from wrongs. Factious followers are worse to be liked, which follow not upon affection to him, with whom they range themselves, but upon discontentment conceived against some other; whereupon commonly enfueth that ill intelligence that we many times fee between great personages. Likewise glorious followers, who make themselves as trumpets of the commendation of those they follow, are full of inconvenience; for they taint business through want of secrefy; and they export honour from a man, and make him a return in envy. There is a kind of followers, likewife, which are dangerous, being indeed espials; which inquire the fecrets of the house, and bear tales of them to others; yet fuch men many times are in great favour; for they are officious, and commonly exchange tales. The following by certain estates of men, answerable to that which a great person himself professeth. (as of foldiers to him that hath been employed in the wars, and the like.) hath ever been a thing civil, and well taken even in monarchies; fo it be without too much pomp or popularity: but the most honourable kind of following, is to be followed as one that apprehendeth to advance virtue and defert in all forts of persons; and yet where there is no eminent odds in fufficiency, it is better to take with the more passable, than with the more able; and, befides, to speak truth in base times, active men are of more use than vir-It is true, that in government, it is good to use men of one rank equally; for to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them infolent, and the rest discontent; because they may claim a due: but contrariwise in favour, to use men with much difference and election is good; for it maketh the persons preferred more thankful, and the rest more officious; because all is of favour. It is good

discretion not to make too much of any man at the first; because one cannot hold out that proportion. To be governed, (as we call it,) by one, is not fafe; for it shews softness, and gives a freedom to fcandal and difreputation; for those, that would not censure, or speak ill of a man immediately, will talk more boldly of those that are so great with them, and thereby wound their honour; yet to be diftracted with many is worse; for it makes men to be of the last impression, and full of change. To take advice of fome few friends is ever honourable; for lookers on many times fee more than gamesters; and the vale best discovereth the hill. There is little friendship in the world, and least of all between equals, which was wont to be magnified. That that is, is between fuperior and inferior, whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.

OF SUITORS.

Many ill matters and projects are undertaken; and private fuits do putrefy the public good. Many good matters are undertaken with bad

minds; I mean not only corrupt minds, but crafty minds, that intend not performance. Some embrace fuits which never mean to deal effectually in them; but if they fee there may be life in the matter by some other mean, they will be content to win a thank, or take a fecond reward, or, at least, to make use in the mean time of the fuitor's hopes. Some take hold of fuits only for an occasion to cross some other; or to make an information, whereof they could not otherwise have apt pretext, without care what become of the fuit when that turn is ferved; or generally, to make other men's business a kind of entertainment to bring in their own: nay, fome undertake fuits with a full purpose to let them fall; to the end to gratify the adverse party or competitor. Surely there is in some fort a right in every fuit; either a right of equity, if it be a fuit of controversy; or a right of desert, if it be a fuit of petition. If affection lead a man to favour the wrong fide in justice, let him rather use his countenance to compound the matter, than to carry it. If affection lead a man to favour the less worthy in desert, let him do it without depraying or disabling the

better deserver. In suits which a man doth not well understand, it is good to refer them to fome friend of trust and judgment, that may report whether he may deal in them with honour; but let him choose well his referendaries, for elfe he may be led by the nofe. Suitors are so distasted with delays and abuses, that plain dealing in denying to deal in fuits at first, and reporting the success barely, and in challenging no more thanks than one hath deferved, is grown not only honourable, but also gracious. In suits of favour, the first coming ought to take little place; fo far forth confideration may be had of his truft, that if intelligence of the matter could not otherwife have been had but by him, advantage be not taken of the note, but the party left to his other means; and in some fort recompensed for his discovery. To be ignorant of the value of a fuit, is fimplicity; as well as to be ignorant of the right thereof, is want of conscience. Secrefy in suits is a great mean of obtaining; for voicing them to be in forwardness, may discourage some kind of suitors; but doth quicken and awake others: but timing of the fuit is the principal; timing I fay, not

only in respect of the person, that should grant it, but in respect of those, which are like to cross it. Let a man, in the choice of his mean, rather choose the fittest mean, than the greatest mean; and rather them that deal in certain things, than those that are general. The reparation of a denial is fometimes equal to the first grant, if a man shew himself neither deiected nor discontented. "Iniquum petas, ut " æquum feras," is a good rule where a man hath strength of favour: but, otherwise, a man were better rife in his fuit; for he that would have ventured at first to have lost the suitor, will not, in the conclusion, lose both the fuitor and his own former favour. Nothing is thought fo easy a request to a great person, as his letter; and yet, if it be not in a good cause, it is fo much out of his reputation. There are no worse instruments than these general contrivers of fuits; for they are but a kind of poison and infection to public proceedings.

OF STUDIES.

STUDIES ferve for delight, for ornament, and for ability. Their chief use for delight, is in privateness and retiring; for ornament, is in discourse; and for ability, is in the judgment and disposition of business: for expert men can execute, and perhaps judge of particulars, one by one; but the general counsels, and the plots and marshalling of affairs come best from those that are learned. To spend too much time in studies, is sloth; to use them too much for ornament, is affectation; to make judgment wholly by their rules, is the humour of a scholar: they perfect nature, and are perfected by experience: for natural abilities are like natural plants, that need pruning by study; and studies themselves do give forth directions too much at large, except they be bounded in by Crafty men contemn studies, experience. simple men admire them, and wise men use them; for they teach not their own use; but that is a wisdom without them, and above them, won by observation. Read not to con-

tradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find talk and discourse, but to weigh and confider. Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested: that is, some books are to be read only in parts; others to be read; but not curiously; and some few to be read wholly, and with diligence and attention. Some books also may be read by deputy, and extracts made of them by others; but that would be only in the less important arguments, and the meaner fort of books; elfe distilled books are, like common distilled waters, flashy things. Reading maketh a full man; conference a ready man; and writing an exact man; and, therefore, if a man write little, he had need have a great memory; if he confer little, he had need have a prefent wit; and if he read little, he had need have much cunning, to feem to know that he doth not. Histories make men wise; poets witty; the mathematic fubtile; natural philosophy deep; moral, grave; logic and rhetoric, able to contend; "Abeunt studia in mores:" nay, there is no fond or impediment in the wit, but may be wrought out by fit studies: like as diseases

of the body may have appropriate exercises; bowling is good for the stone and reins; shooting for the lungs and breast; gentle walking for the stomach; riding for the head, and the like: so if a man's wit be wandering, let him study the mathematics; for in demonstrations, if his wit be called away never so little, he must begin again; if his wit be not apt to distinguish or find differences, let him study the schoolmen; for they are "Cymini sec-"tores;" if he be not apt to beat over matters, and to call upon one thing to prove and illustrate another, let him study the lawyers cases: so every desect of the mind may have a special receipt.

OF FACTION.

MANY have an opinion not wife, that for a prince to govern his estate, or for a great person to govern his proceedings, according to the respect of factions, is a principal part of policy; whereas, contrariwise, the chiefest wisdom is, either in ordering those things which are general, and wherein men of several factions do

nevertheless agree, or in dealing with correfpondence to particular perfons, one by one: but I say not, that the confideration of factions is to be neglected. Mean men, in their rifing, must adhere; but great men, that have strength in themselves, were better to maintain themfelves indifferent and neutral: yet even in beginners, to adhere so moderately, as he be a man of the one faction, which is most passable with the other, commonly giveth best way. The lower and weaker faction is the firmer in conjunction; and it is often feen, that a few that are stiff, do tire out a greater number that are more moderate. When one of the factions is extinguished, the remaining subdivideth: as the faction between Lucullus and the rest of the nobles of the senate, (which they called "optimates,") held out a while against the faction of Pompey and Cæsar; but when the fenate's authority was pulled down, Cæfar and Pompey foon after brake. The faction or party of Antonius and Octavianus Cæfar, against Brutus and Cassius, held out likewise for a time; but when Brutus and Cassius were overthrown, then foon after Antonius and Octavianus brake and subdivided. These examples are of wars, but the fame holdeth in private factions: and, therefore, those that are feconds in factions, do many times, when the faction fubdivideth, prove principals; but many times also they prove cyphers and cashiered; for many a man's strength is in oppofition; and when that faileth, he groweth out of ute. It is commonly seen, that men once placed, take in with the contrary faction to that by which they enter; thinking, belike, that they have the first sure, and now are ready for a new purchase. The traitor in faction lightly goeth away with it; for when matters have fluck long in balancing, the winning of some one man casteth them, and he getteth all the thanks. The even carriage between two factions proceedeth not always of moderation, but of a trueness to a man's self, with end to make use of both. Certainly, in Italy they hold it a little suspect in popes, when they have often in their mouth "Padre commune;" and take it to be a fign of one that meaneth to refer all to the greatness of his own house. Kings had need beware how they fide themselves, and make themselves as of a faction or party; for leagues within the tlate are ever pernicious to monarchies; for they raife an obligation paramount to obligation of fovereignty, and make the king, "tanquam unus ex nobis;" as was to be feen in the league of France. When factions are carried too high and too violently, it is a fign of weakness in princes, and much to the prejudice both of their authority and business. The motions of factions under kings, ought to be like the motions, (as the astronomers speak,) of the inferior orbs; which may have their proper motions, but yet still are quietly carried by the higher motion of "pri-" mum mobile."

OF CEREMONIES AND RESPECTS.

HE that is only real, had need have exceeding great parts of virtue; as the stone had need to be rich that is set without soil: but if a man mark it well, it is in praise and commendation of men, as it is in gettings and gains; for the proverb is true, "That light gains make heavy "purses;" for light gains come thick, whereas great come but now and then: so it is true, that small matters win great commendation,

because they are continually in use and in note; whereas the occasion of any great virtue cometh but on feffivals: therefore it doth much add to a man's reputation, and is, (as queen Isabella said,) like perpetual letters commendatory, to have good forms: to attain them, it almost sufficeth not to despise them; for so shall a man observe them in others; and let him truth himself with the rest: for if he labour too much to express them, he shall lose their grace; which is to be natural and unaffected. Some men's behaviour is like a verse, wherein every fyllable is measured; how can a man comprehend great matters, that breaketh his mind too much to fmall observations? Not to use ceremonies at all, is to teach others not to use them again; and so diminisheth refpect to himfelf; especially they be not to be omitted to strangers and formal natures: but the dwelling upon them, and exalting them above the moon, is not only tedious, but doth diminish the faith and credit of him that fpeaks; and, certainly, there is a kind of conveying of effectual and imprinting paffages amongst compliments, which is of fingular use if a man can hit upon it. Amongst a man's

peers, a man shall be fure of familiarity; and therefore it is good a little to keep state: amongst a man's inferiors, one shall be sure of reverence; and therefore it is good a little to be familiar. He that is too much in any thing, fo that he giveth another occasion of fociety, maketh himfelf cheap. To apply onefelf to others, is good; fo it be with demonfiration, that a man doth it upon regard, and not upon facility. It is a good precept, generally in feconding another, yet to add fomewhat of one's own: as if you will grant his opinion, let it be with fome distinction; if you will follow his motion, let it be with condition; if you allow his counsel, let it be with alledging farther reason. Men had need beware how they be too perfect in compliments; for be they never fo fufficient otherwise, their enviers will be fure to give them that attribute, to the disadvantage of their greater virtues. It is loss also in business to be too full of respects, or to be too curious in observing times and opportunities. Solomon faith, "He that "confidereth the wind shall not fow, and he "that looketh to the clouds shall not reap." A wife man will make more opportunities

than he finds. Men's behaviour should be like their apparel; not too strait or point device, but free for exercise or motion.

OF PRAISE.

PRAISE is the reflection of virtue; but it is as the glass or body which giveth the reflection: if it be from the common people, it is commonly false and nought, and rather followeth vain persons, than virtuous; for the common people understand not many excellent virtues: the lowest virtues draw praise from them, the middle virtues work in them aftonishment or admiration; but of the highest virtues they have no fense or perceiving at all; but shews, and "fpecies virtutibus fimiles," ferve best with them. Certainly, fame is like a river, that beareth up things light and fwollen, and drowns things weighty and folid; but if perfons of quality and judgment concur, then it is, (as the fcripture faith,) "Nomen bonum " instar unguenti fragrantis;" it filleth all round about, and will not eafily away; for the odours of ointments are more durable than

those of flowers. There be so many false points of praise, that a man may justly hold it in fuspect. Some praises proceed merely of flattery; and if he be an ordinary flatterer, he will have certain common attributes, which may ferve every man; if he be a cunning flatterer, he will follow the arch-flatterer, which is a man's felf, and wherein a man thinketh best of himself, therein the flatterer will uphold him most: but if he be an impudent flatterer, look wherein a man is confcious to himfelf that he is most defective, and is most out of countenance in himself, that will the flatterer entitle him to perforce, "fpreta consci-"entia." Some praises come of good wishes and respects, which is a form due in civility to kings and great persons, "laudando præcipere;" when by telling men what they are, they represent to them what they should be: some men are praised maliciously to their hurt, thereby to stir envy and jealousy towards them; "pessimum genus inimicorum laudantium;" infomuch as it was a proverb amongst the Grecians that, "He that was praifed to his "hurt, should have a push rise upon his nose;" as we fay, that a blifter will rife upon one's

tongue that tells a lie; certainly, moderate praife, used with opportunity, and not vulgar, is that which doth the good. Solomon faith, " He that praiseth his friend aloud rising early, "it shall be to him no better than a curse." Too much magnifying of man or matter doth irritate contradiction, and procure envy and fcorn. To praise a man's self cannot be decent, except it be in rare cases; but to praise a man's office or profession, he may do it with good grace, and with a kind of magnanimity. The cardinals of Rome, which are theologues and friars and schoolmen, have a phrase of notable contempt and fcorn towards civil business; for they call all temporal business of wars, embassages, judicature, and other employments, shirrerie, which is under-sheriffries, as if they were but matters for under-sheriffs and catchpoles; though many times those under-sheriffries do more good than their high speculations. St. Paul, when he boafts of himfelf, doth oft interlace, "I speak like "a fool;" but speaking of his calling, he saith, " magnificabo apostolatum meum."

OF VAIN GLORY.

IT was prettily devised of Æsop; the fly fat upon the axle-tree of the chariot wheel, and faid, "What a dust do I raise?" So are there fome vain perfons, that, whatfoever goeth alone or moveth upon greater means, if they have never fo little hand in it, they think it is they that carry it. They that are glorious must needs be factious; for all bravery stands upon comparisons. They must needs be violent to make good their own vaunts: neither can they be fecret, and therefore not effectual; but according to the French proverb, "beaucoup de "bruit, peu de fruit;" "much bruit, little "fruit." Yet, certainly, there is use of this quality in civil affairs: where there is an opinion and fame to be created, either of virtue or greatness, these men are good trumpeters. Again, as Titus Livius noteth in the case of Antiochus and the Ætolians, there are fometimes great effects of cross lies; as if a man that negociates between two princes, to draw them to join in a war against the third, doth

extol the forces of either of them above meafure, the one to the other: and fometimes, he that deals between man and man raiseth his own credit with both, by pretending greater interest than he hath in either: and in these, and the like kinds, it often falls out, that fomewhat is produced of nothing; for lies are fufficient to breed opinion, and opinion brings on fubstance. In military commanders and foldiers vain glory is an effential point; for as iron sharpens iron, fo by glory one courage sharpeneth another. In cases of great enterprize upon charge and adventure, a composition of glorious natures doth put life into bufinefs; and those, that are of folid and fober natures. have more of the ballast than of the fail. In fame of learning the flight will be flow without some feathers of ostentation; "Qui de "contemnenda gloria libros feribunt, nomen "fuum inscribunt." Socrates, Aristotle, Galen were men full of oftentation: certainly vain glory helpeth to perpetuate a man's memory; and virtue was never fo beholding to human nature, as it received its due at the fecond hand. Neither had the fame of Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus borne her age fo well if it

had not been joined with fome vanity in themfelves; like unto varnish, that makes ceilings not only shine, but last. But all this while, when I speak of vain glory, I mean not of that property that Tacitus doth attribute to Mucianus; "Omnium, quæ dixerat feceratque, arte " quadam oftentator:" for that proceeds not of vanity, but of natural magnanimity and difcretion; and, in fome perfons, is not only comely, but gracious: for excufations, ceffions, modesty itself well governed are but arts of oftentation; and amongst those arts there is none better than that which Plinius Secundus speaketh of; which is to be liberal of praise and commendation to others, in that wherein a man's felf hath any perfection: for faith Pliny very wittily, "In commending another you do " yourfelf right;" for he that you commend is either superior to you in that you commend, or inferior; if he be inferior, if he be to be commended, you much more; if he be fuperior, if he be not to be commended, you much less glorious. Men are the scorn of wise men, the admiration of fools, the idols of parafites, and the flaves of their own vaunts.

OF HONOUR AND REPUTATION.

THE winning of honour is but the revealing of a man's virtue and worth without disadvantage; for some in their actions do woo and affect honour and reputation; which fort of men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly little admired: and fome, contrariwife, darken their virtue in the shew of it; so as they be undervalued in opinion. If a man perform that which hath not been attempted before, or attempted and given over, or hath been atchieved, but not with fo good circumstance, he shall purchase more honour than by effecting a matter of greater difficulty, or virtue, wherein he is but a follower. If a man fo temper his actions, as in some one of them he doth content every faction or combination of people, the mufic will be the fuller. A man is an ill husband of his honour that entereth into any action, the failing wherein may difgrace him more than the carrying of it through can honour him. Honour that is gained and broken upon another hath the quickest reflection, like diamonds cut with fascets; and, therefore, let a man contend to excel any competitors of his in honour, in out-shooting them if he can in their own bow. Difcreet followers and fervants help much to reputation; "Omnis fama a domesticis emanat." Envy. which is the canker of honour, is best distinguished by declaring a man's self in his ends, rather to feek merit than fame; and by attributing a man's fuccesses rather to divine Providence and felicity, than to his own virtue or policy. The true marshalling of the degrees of fovereign honour are thefe: in the first place are "conditores imperiorum," founders of ftates and commonwealths; fuch as were Romulus, Cyrus, Cæfar, Ottoman, Ifmael: in the fecond place are "legislatores," lawgivers; which are also called second founders, or "perpetui principes," because they govern by their ordinances after they are gone; fuch were Lycurgus, Solon, Justinian, Edgar, Alphonfus of Caftile, the wife, that made the "Siete patridas:" in the third place are "li-"beratores," or "falvatores;" fuch as compound the long miseries of civil wars, or deliver their countries from fervitude of ftrangers

or tyrants; as Augustus Cæsar, Vespasianus, Aurelianus, Theodoricus, king Henry the feventh of England, king Henry the fourth of France: in the fourth place are "propaga-"tores, or "propugnatores imperii;" fuch as in honourable wars enlarge their territories, or make noble defence against invaders: and in the last place, are "patres patriæ," which reign justly, and make the times good wherein they live; both which last kinds need no examples, they are in fuch number. Degrees of honour in subjects are first, "participes cu-"rarum," those upon whom princes do discharge the greatest weight of their affairs; their right hands, as we call them: the next are, "duces belli," great leaders; fuch as are princes lieutenants, and do them notable fervices in the wars: the third are, "gratiofi," favourites; fuch as exceed not this fcantling, to be folace to the fovereign, and harmless to the people: and the fourth, "negotiis pares;" fuch as have great places under princes, and execute their places with fufficiency. There is an honour, likewise, which may be ranked amongst the greatest, which happeneth rarely; that is, of fuch as facrifice themselves to death or danger for the good of their country; as was M. Regulus, and the two Decii.

OF JUDICATURE.

JUDGES ought to remember, that their office is "jus dicere," and not "jus dare;" to interpret law, and not to make law, or give law: else will it be like the authority claimed by the church of Rome; which, under pretext of exposition of scripture, doth not stick to add and alter; and to pronounce that which they do not find, and by shew of antiquity to introduce novelty. Judges ought to be more learned than witty, more reverend than plaufible, and more advised than confident. Above all things, integrity is their portion and proper virtue. Curied, (faith the law,) "Is he that " removeth the landmark." The mislayer of a mere-stone is to blame; but it is the unjust judge that is the capital remover of landmarks when he defineth amiss of lands and property. One foul fentence doth more hurt than many foul examples; for these do but corrupt the flream, the other corrupteth the fountain: fo

faith Solomon; "Fons turbatus, et vena cor"rupta est justus cadens in causa sua coram
"adversario." The office of judges may have
reference unto the parties that sue, unto the
advocates that plead, unto the clerks and ministers of justice underneath them, and to the
sovereign or state above them.

First, for the causes or parties that sue. There be, (faith the scripture,) "that turn "judgment into wormwood;" and furely there be also that turn it into vinegar; for injustice maketh it bitter, and delays make it four. The principal duty of a judge, is to supprefs force and fraud; whereof force is the more pernicious when it is open; and fraud when it is close and difguifed. Add thereto contentious fuits, which ought to be spewed out, as the furfeit of courts. A judge ought to prepare his way to a just sentence, as God useth to prepare his way, by raifing valleys and taking down hills: fo when there appeareth on either fide an high hand, violent profecution, cunning advantages taken, combination, power, great counsel, then is the virtue of a judge seen to make inequality equal; that he may plant his judgment as upon an even ground. " Qui for"titer emungit, elicit fanguinem;" and where the wine-press is hard wrought, it yields a harsh wine that tastes of the grape-stone. Judges must beware of hard constructions, and strained inferences: for there is no worse torture than the torture of laws: especially in case of laws penal, they ought to have care, that that, which was meant for terror, be not turned into rigour; and that they bring not upon the people that shower whereof the scripture speaketh, "Pluet fuper eos laqueos;" for penal laws pressed, are a shower of snares upon the people: therefore let penal laws, if they have been fleepers of long, or if they be grown unfit for the present time, be by wife judges confined in the execution; "Judicis officium est, "ut res, ita tempora rerum," &c. In causes of life and death judges ought, (as far as the law permitteth,) in justice to remember mercy, and to cast a severe eye upon the example, but a merciful eye upon the perfon.

Secondly, for the advocates and counsel that plead. Patience and gravity of hearing is an effential part of justice; and an over-speaking judge is no well tuned cymbal. It is no grace to a judge first to find that which

he might have heard in due time from the bar; or to shew quickness of conceit in cutting off evidence or counsel too short; or to prevent information by questions, though pertinent. The parts of a judge in hearing are four; to direct the evidence; to moderate length, repetition, or impertinency of speech; to recapitulate, felect, and collate the material points of that which hath been faid; and to give the rule or fentence. Whatfoever is above these is too much, and proceedeth either of glory and willingness to speak, or of impatience to hear, or of shortness of memory, or of want of a stayed and equal attention. It is a strange thing to see that the boldness of advocates should prevail with judges; whereas they should imitate God, in whose seat they sit; who represent the prefumptuous, and giveth grace to the modest: but it is more strange, that judges should have noted favourites, which cannot but cause multiplication of fees, and fuspicion of by-ways. There is due from the judge to the advocate fome commendation and gracing where causes are well handled and fair pleaded, especially towards the fide which obtaineth not; for that upholds in the client

the reputation of his counsel, and beats down in him the conceit of his cause. There is likewise due to the public a civil reprehension of advocates where there appeareth cunning counsel, gross neglect, slight information, indiscreet pressing, or an over-bold defence: and let not the counsel at the bar chop with the judge, nor wind himself into the handling of the cause anew after the judge hath declared his sentence; but on the other side, let not the judge meet the cause half way, nor give occasion to the party to say, his counsel or proofs were not heard.

Thirdly, for that that concerns clerks and ministers. The place of justice is an hallowed place; and, therefore, not only the bench, but the footpace and precincts and purprise thereof ought to be preserved without scandal and corruption; for, certainly, grapes, (as the scripture faith,) "will not be gathered of thorns "or thistles;" neither can justice yield her fruit with sweetness amongst the briars and brambles of catching and polling clerks and ministers. The attendance of courts is subject to four bad instruments: first, certain persons that are sowers of suits; which make the court

fwell, and the country pine: the fecond fort is of those, that engage courts in quarrels of jurisdiction, and are not truly "amici curiæ," but "parafiti curiæ," in puffing a court up beyond her bounds for their own icraps and advantages: the third fort is of those that may be accounted the left hands of courts; persons that are full of nimble and finister tricks and shifts, whereby they pervert the plain and direct courses of courts, and bring justice into oblique lines and labyrinths: and the fourth is the poller and exacter of fees; which justifies the common resemblance of the courts of justice to the bush, whereunto while the sheep flies for defence in weather, he is fure to lose part of his fleece. On the other fide, an ancient clerk, skilful in precedents, wary in proceeding, and understanding in the business of the court, is an excellent finger of a court, and doth many times point the way to the judge himself.

Fourthly, for that which may concern the fovereign and eftate. Judges ought, above all, to remember the conclusion of the Roman twelve tables; "Salus populi suprema lex;" and to know that laws, except they be in order

to that end, are but things captious, and oracles not well inspired: therefore it is an happy thing in a state when kings and states do often confult with judges; and again, when judges do often confult with the king and state: the one, when there is matter of law intervenient in business of state; the other, when there is fome confideration of state intervenient in matter of law; for many times, the things deduced to judgment may be "meum" and "tuum," when the reason and consequence thereof may trench to point of estate: I call matter of estate, not only the parts of sovereignty, but whatfoever introduceth any great alteration. or dangerous precedent; or concerneth manifestly any great portion of people: and let no man weakly conceive that just laws, and true policy have any antipathy; for they are like the spirits and finews, that one moves with the other. Let judges also remember, that Solomon's throne was supported by lions on both fides: let them be lions, but yet lions under the throne; being circumspect that they do not check or oppose any points of sovereignty. Let not judges also be so ignorant of their own right, as to think there is not left to them, as a

principal part of their office, a wife use and application of laws; for they may remember what the Apostle saith of a greater law than theirs; "Nos scimus quia lex bona est, modo "quis ea utatur legitime."

OF ANGER.

To feek to extinguish anger utterly is but a bravery of the Stoics. We have better oracles: "Be angry, but sin not: let not the sun go "down upon your anger." Anger must be limited and confined, both in race and in time. We will first speak how the natural inclination and habit, "to be angry," may be attempted and calmed; secondly, how the particular motions of anger may be repressed, or, at least, refrained from doing mischief; thirdly, how to raise anger, or appease anger in another.

For the first, there is no other way but to meditate and ruminate well upon the effects of anger, how it troubles man's life: and the best time to do this, is to look back upon anger when the fit is thoroughly over. Seneca

faith well, "that anger is like rain, which "breaks itself upon that it falls." The scripture exhorteth us, "to possess our souls in "patience;" whosoever is out of patience, is out of possession of his soul. Men must not turn bees;

" Animafque in vulnere ponunt."

Anger is certainly a kind of baseness; as it appears well in the weakness of those subjects in whom it reigns; children, women, old folks, fick folks. Only men must beware that they carry their anger rather with scorn than with fear; so that they may seem rather to be above the injury than below it; which is a thing easily done, if a man will give law to himself in it.

For the second point, the causes and motives of anger are chiefly three: first, to be too sensible of hurt; for no man is angry that seels not himself hurt; and, therefore, tender and delicate persons must needs be oft angry, they have so many things to trouble them, which more robust natures have little sense of: the next is, the apprehension and construction of the injury offered to be, in the circumstances

thereof, full of contempt; for contempt is that which putteth an edge upon anger as much or more than the hurt itself; and, therefore, when men are ingenious in picking out circumstances of contempt, they do kindle their anger much: lastly, opinion of the touch of a man's reputation doth multiply and sharpen anger; wherein the remedy is that a man should have, as Gonsalvo was wont to say, "telam "honoris crassiorem." But in all refrainings of anger it is the best remedy to win time, and to make a man's self believe that the opportunity of his revenge is not yet come; but that he foresees a time for it, and so to still himself in the mean time, and reserve it.

To contain anger from mischief, though it take hold of a man, there be two things whereof you must have special caution: the one, of
extreme bitterness of words, especially if they
be aculeate and proper; for "communia male"dicta" are nothing so much; and again, that
in anger a man reveal no secrets; for that makes
him not fit for society: the other, that you do
not peremptorily break off in any business in a
fit of anger; but howsoever you shew bitterness,
do not act any thing that is not revocable.

For raifing and appeafing anger in another, it is done chiefly by choofing of times, when men are frowardest and worst disposed to incense them; again, by gathering, (as was touched before,) all that you can find out to aggravate the contempt: and the two remedies are by the contraries: the former to take good times, when first to relate to a man an angry business, for the first impression is much; and the other is, to sever, as much as may be, the construction of the injury from the point of contempt; imputing it to misunderstanding, fear, passion, or what you will.

OF VICISSITUDE OF THINGS.

SOLOMON faith, "there is no new thing upon "the earth:" fo that as Plato had an imagination that all knowledge was but remembrance; fo Solomon giveth his fentence, "that "all novelty is but oblivion;" whereby you may fee, that the river of Lethe runneth as well above ground as below. There is an abstruse astrologer that saith, if it were not for two things that are constant, (the one is,

that the fixed stars ever stand at like distance one from another and never come nearer together nor go farther afunder, the other, that the diurnal motion perpetually keepeth time,) no individual would last one moment: certain it is, that the matter is in a perpetual flux, and never at a stay. The great winding-sheets that bury all things in oblivion are two; deluges and earthquakes. As for conflagrations and great droughts, they do not merely difpeople, but deftroy. Phaeton's car went but a day; and the three years drought, in the time of Elias, was but particular, and left people alive. As for the great burnings by lightnings, which are often in the West Indies, they are but narrow; but in the other two destructions, by deluge and earthquake, it is farther to be noted that the remnant of people, which hap to be referved, are commonly ignorant and mountainous people, that can give no account of the time past; so that the oblivion is all one, as if none had been left. If you confider well of the people of the West Indies, it is very probable that they are a newer, or a younger people than the people of the old world; and it is much more likely, that the

destruction, that hath heretofore been there, was not by earthquakes, (as the Ægyptian priest told Solon concerning the island of Atlantis, that it was fwallowed by an earth. quake,) but rather, that it was desolated by a particular deluge; for earthquakes are feldom in those parts: but on the other side, they have fuch pouring rivers, as the rivers of Asia, and Africa, and Europe are but brooks to them. Their Andes likewise, or mountains are far higher than those with us; whereby it seems, that the remnants of generation of men were, in fuch a particular deluge, faved. As for the observation that Machiavel hath, that the jealoufy of fects doth much extinguish the memory of things; traducing Gregory the Great, that he did what in him lay to extinguish all heathen antiquities; I do not find that those zeals do any great effects, nor last long: as it appeared in the fuccession of Sabinian, who did revive the former antiquties.

The viciflitude or mutations in the superior globe are no fit matter for this present argument. It may be Plato's great year, if the world should last so long, would have some effect, not in renewing the state of like indi-

viduals, (for that is the fume of those that conceive the celestial bodies have more accurate influences upon these things below, than indeed they have,) but in gross. Comets, out of question, have likewise power and effect over the gross and mass of things: but they are rather gazed upon, and waited upon in their journey, than wisely observed in their effects; especially in their respective effects; that is, what kind of comet, for magnitude, colour, version of the beams, placing in the region of heaven, or lasting, produceth what kind of effects.

There is a toy, which I have heard, and I would not have it given over, but waited upon a little. They fay it is observed in the Low Countries, (I know not in what part,) that every five and thirty years the same kind and suit of years and weathers comes about again; as great frosts, great wet, great droughts, warm winters, summers with little heat, and the like; and they call it the prime: it is a thing I do the rather mention, because, computing backwards, I have found some concurrence.

But to leave these points of nature, and to come to men. The greatest vicissitude of

things amongst men, is the vicissitude of sects and religious; for those orbs rule in men's minds most. The true religion is built upon the rock; the rest are tossed upon the waves of time. To speak therefore of the causes of new sects, and to give some counsel concerning them, as far as the weakness of human judgment can give stay to so great revolutions.

When the religion formerly received is rent by difcords; and when the holiness of the profesiors of religion is decayed and full of fcandal; and withal the times be ftupid, ignorant, and barbarous, you may doubt the fpringing up of a new fect: if then also there should arise any extravagant and strange spirit to make himself author thereof; all which points held when Mahomet published his law, If a new feet have not two properties, fear it not, for it will not spread: the one is the supplanting, or the opposing of authority established; for nothing is more popular than that; the other is the giving license to pleafures and a voluptuous life: for as for speculative herefies, (fuch as were in ancient times the Arians, and now the Arminians,) though they work mightily upon men's wits, yet they

do not produce any great alterations in states; except it be by the help of civil occasions. There be three manner of plantations of new fects: by the power of figns and miracles; by the eloquence and wifdom of speech and perfuafion; and by the fword. For martyrdoms. I reckon them amongst miracles; because they feem to exceed the strength of human nature: and I may do the like of fuperlative and admirable holiness of life. Surely there is no better way to stop the rising of new sects and fchisms, than to reform abuses; to compound the fmaller differences; to proceed mildly, and not with fanguinary perfecutions; and rather to take off the principal authors, by winning and advancing them, than to enrage them by violence and bitternefs.

The changes and viciffitude in wars are many; but chiefly in three things; in the feats or stages of the war, in the weapons, and in the manner of the conduct. Wars, in ancient time, seemed more to move from east to west; for the Persians, Assyrians, Arabians, Tartars, (which were the invaders,) were all eastern people. It is true, the Gauls were western; but we read but of two incursions of theirs;

the one to Gallo-Græcia, the other to Rome: but east and west have no certain points of heaven; and no more have the wars, either from the east or west, any certainty of observation: but north and fouth are fixed; and it hath feldom or never been feen that the far fouthern people have invaded the northern, but contrariwise; whereby it is manifest, that the northern tract of the world is in nature the more martial religion; be it in respect of the stars of that hemisphere, or of the great continents that are upon the north; whereas the fouth part, for aught that is known, is almost all fea: or, (which is most apparent,) of the cold of the northern parts, which is that, which, without aid of discipline, doth make the bodies hardest, and the courage warmest.

Upon the breaking and shivering of a great state and empire, you may be sure to have wars; for great empires, while they stand, do enervate and destroy the forces of the natives which they have subdued, resting upon their own protecting forces; and then, when they sail also, all goes to ruin, and they become a prey: so was it in the decay of the Roman empire, and likewise in the empire of Al-

maigne, after Charles the Great, every bird taking a feather; and were not unlike to befal to Spain, if it should break. The great accessions and unions of kingdoms do likewise ftir up wars: for when a state grows to an over power, it is like a great flood that will be fure to overflow; as it hath been feen in the states of Rome, Turkey, Spain, and others. Look when the world hath fewest barbarous people, but fuch as commonly will not marry or generate except they know means to live, (as it is almost every where at this day, except Tartary,) there is no danger of inundations of people: but when there be great shoals of people, which go on to populate without foreseeing means of life and fustentation, it is of necessity that once in an age or two they discharge a portion of their people upon other nations, which the ancient northern people were wont to do by lot; casting lots what part should stay at home, and what should seek their fortunes. warlike state grows foft and effeminate, they may be fure of a war: for commonly fuch states are grown rich in the time of their degenerating; and fo the prey inviteth,

and their decay in valour encourageth a war.

As for the weapons, it hardly falleth under rule and observation: yet we see even they have returns and viciffitudes; for certain it is. that ordnance was known in the city of the Oxydracæ in India; and was that which the Macedonians called thunder and lightning and magic; and it is well known that the use of ordnance hath been in China above two thousand years. The conditions of weapons and their improvement are, first, the fetching afar off; for that outruns the danger, as it is feen in ordnance and mutkets: fecondly, the strength of the percussion; wherein likewise ordnance do exceed all arietations, and ancient inventions: the third is, the commodious use of them; as that they may ferve in all weathers; that the carriage may be light and manageable, and the like.

For the conduct of the war: at the first, men rested extremely upon number; they did put the wars likewise upon main force and valour, pointing days for pitched fields, and so trying it out upon an even match; and they were more ignorant in ranging and arraying their battles. After they grew to rest upon number, rather competent than vast; they grew to advantages of place, cunning diversions, and the like; and they grew more skilful in the ordering of their battles.

In the youth of a state, arms do flourish; in the middle age of a state, learning; and then both of them together for a time: in the declining age of a state, mechanical arts and merchandize. Learning hath its infancy, when it is but beginning, and almost childish; then its youth, when it is luxuriant and juvenile; then its strength of years, when it is solid and reduced; and lastly, its old age, when it waxeth dry and exhaust: but it is not good to look too long upon these turning wheels of vicissitude, lest we become giddy: as for the philology of them, that is but a circle of tales, and therefore not fit for this writing.

Total ...

A FRAGMENT OF AN ESSAY ON FAME.

THE poets make Fame a monster: they deferibe her in part finely and elegantly, and in part gravely and sententiously: they say, Look how many seathers she hath, so many eyes she hath underneath, so many tongues, so many voices, she pricks up so many ears.

This is a flourish: there follow excellent parables; as that she gathereth strength in going; that she goeth upon the ground, and yet hideth her head in the clouds; that in the day-time she sitteth in a watch-tower, and slyeth most by night; that she mingleth things done with things not done; and that she is a terror to great cities: but that which passeth all the rest is, they do recount that the earth, mother of the giants that made war against Jupiter and were by him destroyed, thereupon in anger brought forth same; for certain it is, that rebels, sigured by the giants and seditious sames and libels, are but brothers and sisters, masculine and seminine; but now if a man

can tame this monster, and bring her to feed at the hand, and govern her, and with her fly at other ravening fowl and kill them, it is fomewhat worth: but we are infected with the style of the poets. To speak now in a sad and ferious manner: there is not in all the politics a place less handled, and more worthy to be handled, than this of fame; we will therefore fpeak of these points: what are false fames; and what are true fames; and how they may be best discerned; how fames may be sown and raised; how they may be spread and multiplied; and how they may be checked and laid dead; and other things concerning the nature of fame. Fame is of that force, as there is scarcely any great action wherein it hath not a great part, especially in the war. Mucianus undid Vitellius by a fame that he fcattered, that Vitellius had in purpose to remove the legions of Syria into Germany, and the legions of Germany into Syria; whereupon the legions of Syria were infinitely inflamed. Julius Cæsar took Pompey unprovided, and laid afleep his industry and preparations by a fame that he cunningly gave out, how Cæsar's own foldiers loved him not; and being wearied

with the wars and laden with the spoils of Gaul, would forfake him as foon as he came into Italy. Livia fettled all things for the fuccession of her fon Tiberius by continually giving out, that her husband Augustus was upon recovery and amendment; and it is an usual thing with the bashaws, to conceal the death of the great Turk from the janizaries and men of war to fave the facking of Conftantinople, and other towns, as their manner is. Themistocles made Xerxes, king of Persia, post apace out of Græcia, by giving out that the Græcians had a purpose to break his bridge of ships which he had made athwart the Hellespont. There be a thousand such like examples, and the more they are the less they need to be repeated, because a man meeteth with them every where: therefore let all wife governors have as great a watch and care over fames, as they have of the actions and defigns themselves.

THE REST WAS NOT FINISHED.

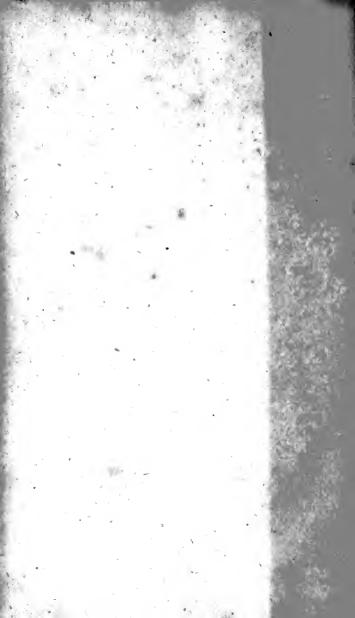
CONTENTS.

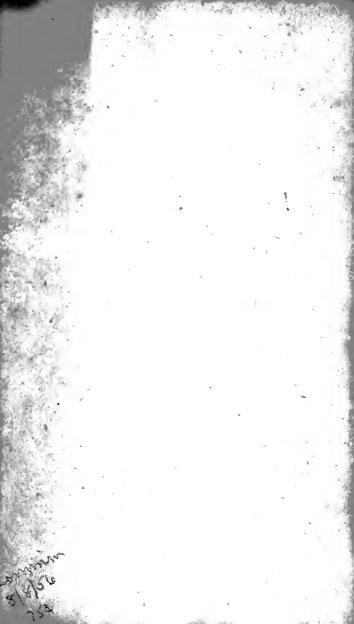
		PAGE
Of Truth		1
Death		- 5
Unity in Religion		8
Revenge		16
Adverfity		18
Simulation and Diffimulation		20
Parents and Children		25
Marriage and Single Life		28
Envy		31
Love		40
Great Place		43
Roldness		49
Goodness, and Goodness of Nature	·	52
A King		56
Nobility		60
Seditions and Troubles		
Atheism		75
Superstition		79
Travel		82
Empire		86
Counfel	.	94
Delays		102
Cunning		104
Wisdom for a Man's Self		
Innovations		113
Difpatch		
Seeming Wife		118

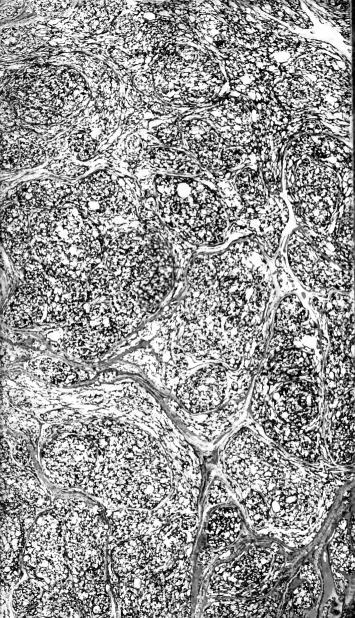
CONTENTS.

	A G
Of Friendship1	20
Expense 1	33
The True Greatness of Kingdoms and	
Estates1	35
Regimen of Health	51
Suspicion1	54
Discourse	56
Plantations 1	59
Riches	
Prophecies	70
Ambition	75
Masques and Triumphs 1	78
Nature in Men	81
Cuftom and Education	84
Fortune	87
Ufury	90
Youth and Age	96
Beauty	99
Deformity	
. Building	04
Gardens 2	11
Negociating	22
Followers and Friends	25
Suitors	27
Studies	31
Faction	33
Ceremonies and Respects 2	36
Praise	39
Vain Glory	42
Honour and Reputation 2-	45
Judicature	18
Anger 2.	5.5
Viciflitude of Things 28	58
A Fragment of an Essay on Fame 26	80











Library
of the
University of Toronto

